

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

MISSOURI CENTENNIAL NUMBER

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Historical Notes and Comments

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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THE MISSOURI TAVERN.

By Walter B. Stevens.

In the Missouri tavern the pioneer settler and the wandering stranger were first welcomed to our soil. In this early wayside inn business was transacted, religion preached, duels decided, politics discussed and frequently settled, towns founded, courts convened, and hospitality dispensed. It served as home and mart, court and forum. An institution which flourished in Missouri a century past, its romance is still preserved in story and legend. The Missouri tavern is almost extinct. Conditions produced it that will never return. It was the product of a pioneer community, peopled by an honest, fearless, hospitable folk. Ratiocination was stranger to its walls, but common sense, wit and logic there found place. The author of "The Missouri Tavern" has drawn aside the curtain of history and permitted us to share bread and board with our forefathers who made possible our heritage and who founded a "free and independent republic, by the name of 'The State of Missouri.'"

The Editor.

It is told of the wife of the first Missouri editor that no one in need of food or shelter was turned away from her door. Mrs. Sarah Charless lived to be eighty-one years of age. Her home was in Missouri more than half a century. St. Louis was notably lacking in taverns when Joseph Charless came to start the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. Strangers, whose credentials or appearances justified, were made welcome at private houses not only in St. Louis but in the homes of Missouri pioneers generally. Thus, a hundred years ago, was begotten that spirit of hospitality which became a marked characteristic of the Missourian and which gave the Missouri tavern distinction. The trait was a natural evolution of two influential elements in the pioneer population—the French who were the first families of Missouri, and the Virginians and Kentuckians who came in great numbers with the dawn of statehood.

To accommodate newcomers Mr. and Mrs. Charless opened their house, which was a large one on Fifth and Market

streets. A sign swung from a post; it bore the announcement "Entertainment by Joseph Charless." With the house was a large garden, one of the finest in St. Louis, occupying half of the block bounded by Fifth, Market, Fourth and Walnut streets. Therein fruit and vegetables were grown for a table which became famous. In a card, Mr. Charless told through the *Missouri Gazette* that at his house strangers "will find every accommodation but whiskey." Mrs. Charless was one of seven women who, with two men, organized the first Presbyterian church in Missouri.

Twelve years Joseph Charless edited and published that first Missouri newspaper. At the top of the title page of the *Missouri Gazette*, he printed in black type his slogan:—"Truth without Fear." And he lived up to it, defying Benton carrying a big stick and dodging bullets. Then he retired from journalism and devoted himself to the tavern with this announcement.

JOSEPH CHARLESS

informs the gentlemen who visit St. Louis, and travelers generally; that he has opened a house for their reception at the corner of Fifth street on the public square of St. Louis, where, by the moderate charges and attention to the comfort of his guests, he will endeavor to merit general approbation.

Board and lodging per week.....	\$4.50
Boarding only.....	3.50
Do, less than a week, per meal.....	.25
Lodging per night in separate bed.....	.25
Where two occupy one bed.....	.12½

The state paper of Missouri and Illinois will be taken at a fair discount.

The Missouri tavern was of its own class. Identified with the vocation of tavernkeeping in Missouri's pioneer days are the names of some of the best known and most highly esteemed families in the state's history. Taverns were established for "accommodation" in the true sense of the word. Immigration came in successive high tides. In not a few cases, homes were opened as a matter of private "accommodation" which led to public "entertainment,"—as in the



"MANSION HOUSE" HOTEL

Where the First Constitutional Convention of Missouri met. - Courtesy of
Hon. Cornelius Roach.



THE "MISSOURI HOTEL"

Where the First State Legislature of Missouri met. - Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach.

case of the Charless family. About the wide fireplace the host and his family visited with the travelers. They listened to the latest news from the outside world and they gave the desired information about local conditions and advantages for settlement. Court sessions were held in the taverns. Counties and towns were organized and political caucuses were held in Missouri taverns. In brief, the Missouri tavern was the center of public life during those pioneer decades. In no other state does it appear from somewhat cursory investigation that the tavern filled such an important part in early history.

THE MISSOURI HOTEL.

In a tavern, Missouri, the state, was born. The first legislature met in that hotel. The first governor, McNair, and the first lieutenant-governor, Ashley, were inaugurated there. The first United States senators, Barton and Benton, were elected there.

In accordance with the fitness of things that tavern was called the Missouri. Begun in 1817 and finished two years later, the Missouri hotel was ready just in time for its place in the history of the state's making. Major Biddle became the owner. He went east and obtained the best landlord he could find and induce to come west. The Missouri was opened with equipment and appointments which made it for more than a generation the pride of the Mississippi Valley.

The Missouri hotel was the scene of banquets and balls. There his admiring fellow citizens entertained Barton with a grand dinner when he came back from Washington after a speech which made him the great Missourian of that day. Benton was second fiddle. St. Patrick's days were celebrated at the Missouri, for newcomers from Ireland were among the foremost and most enterprising business men of St. Louis in that generation. Expeditions were planned at the Missouri. Principals and seconds met there to arrange meetings on Bloody Island. General William Henry Harrison, afterwards president, General Zachary Taylor, afterwards presi-

dent, and General Winfield Scott, who wanted to be but was not president, were entertained at the Missouri hotel.

The oddest tavern in Missouri was not built with hands. It was a cave, forty feet wide and twenty feet high, in St. Charles county. Boatmen steered their pirogues and long-horns to the bank and took shelter in that cave from the driving storms on the Missouri. They called it "The Tavern."

On the walls, in those days, were to be seen the rudely carved names of many who had found refuge there and who had registered. Drawings and carvings of birds and beasts, said to have been done by the Indians, were the mural decorations of this nature tavern. A stream of considerable size empties into the Missouri near this cave and at the present day is known as Tavern creek.

VAN BIBBER'S TAVERN.

To Van Bibber's tavern at Loutre Lick came Colonel David Craig when he immigrated to Missouri in 1817. He brought with him two suits of black clothes. On Sunday morning, not long after his arrival, he put on the good clothes, after the Virginia custom of Sabbath observance, and went in to breakfast. The women folks crowded around and with much feminine curiosity examined the store clothes. One of the girls touched the clothes and exclaimed admiringly. "Oh! Ain't he nice!" The tavernkeeper, who either didn't favor so much style or wished to check further enthusiasm by his family, said, "Nice! He looks like a blacksnake that has just shed its skin."

Van Bibber was somewhat of a philosopher. He believed in transmigration of souls, and carried out his theory in detail. Every 6,000 years was a complete cycle, according to his theory, and at the end of a cycle everything started over again. A party of Kentuckians stopped with Van Bibber one night, and as usual the tavernkeeper expounded his philosophy of transmigration. The Kentuckians listened with apparent interest and asked many questions. The discussion went on until bedtime. Van Bibber told his wife he believed he had



OLD ROBIDOUX HOUSE, ST. JOSEPH

converted the Kentuckians. In the morning the spokesman of the party said to the landlord:

"We were much impressed with your argument last night. Believing there may be some truth in your doctrine, and being short of cash, we have decided to wait until we come around again at the end of 6,000 years and settle our bill."

"No," said Van Bibber, "You are the same blamed rascals who were here 6,000 years ago and went away without paying your bills, and now you have to pay before you leave."

When Long's expedition was on the way up the Missouri one hundred years ago to discover and map "The Great American Desert" as it appeared in the geographies for two generations, a stop was made at Van Bibber's. As usual the tavern-keeper had something to discuss. This time his information was in the realm of science. He told of startling occurrences in the vicinity of Loutre Lick. At the end of winter, or in unusually rainy seasons, according to Van Bibber, lights or balls of fire were seen apparently coming out of the ground. At other times large volumes of smoke arose from the soil. A son of Daniel Boone was one of the witnesses of these phenomena. Van Bibber told Long that two preachers riding late at night, about nine miles from Loutre Lick, saw a ball of fire at the end of a whip. In a short time another ball of fire appeared at the other end of the whip. Almost immediately the preachers, their horses and the objects around them seemed to be enveloped with "wreaths of flames." The preachers were so overcome with the spectacle that they couldn't tell more than this, Van Bibber said. The scientists with Long concluded that "combustion of a coal bed or decomposition of a mass of pyrites" must be the explanation of these strange things. They dismissed Van Bibber's stories of these strange happenings with so little interest that the tavernkeeper was disgusted.

Van Bibber married a granddaughter of Daniel Boone. He had two sprightly daughters, Fanny and Matilda. His first tavern was of logs and as business developed Van Bibber added other cabins. Loutre Lick became the first Missouri spa. The earliest settlers went there for bodily ailments

which were relieved by the waters. Later Loutre Lick became a widely known health resort. Benton visited there and told in Washington of the beneficial results. He advertised Loutre Lick so enthusiastically that Henry Clay referred in a speech to the Missouri senator's "Bethesda." Washington Irving, with his traveling companions, the Swiss count, M. de Portales, and the Englishman, Latrobe, stopped at Loutre Lick. He was so pleased with the surroundings that he told Van Bibber "When I get rich I am coming here to buy this place and build a nice residence here." But Irving spent so much time abroad that he never carried out his impulse to become a Missourian.

Van Bibber prospered to the degree which called for better than log cabins. A carpenter, Cyranus Cox, and a blacksmith, MacFarland, stopped at Van Bibber's one day. The tavernkeeper persuaded them to stay and build him something more pretentious than the cabins. Cox was charmed with Fannie Van Bibber. When the time approached for the wedding, carpenter and the girl decided that his clothes were too badly worn for the ceremony. Cox walked to St. Louis and bought a wedding suit. Matilda Van Bibber married James Estill, a pioneer Missouri merchant. As late as 1912, a great gathering of people, estimated at 2,000, assembled at Mineola, the modern name for Loutre Lick, and, under the auspices of the Old Trails association, discussed the possibility of preserving the Van Bibber tavern. To feed the multitude, forty sheep, one hundred chickens and several beeves were barbecued. Mrs. Mary Sharp, born in the tavern, was the guest of honor. Champ Clark told of the Missouri politics which had been associated with Van Bibber's tavern.

MANN'S TAVERN.

Mann's Tavern, in Bowling Green, was the scene of an historic incident which merits place in the history of Missouri duels. Judge Thomas J. C. Fagg told the story in his reminiscences which were published by the *Pike County News* twenty years ago.

"Sometime in the twenties, possibly after 1825, two squads of travelers dismounted in front of the hotel. There being no other house of entertainment in the town, they were necessarily compelled to stop at the same place. They came from the same direction, all on horseback. The mystery deepened as the strangers hovered over the big log fire that blazed on the spacious hearth. It was a rainy, chilly day in November, and the two parties had evidently had a long ride from the west. Two separate groups of three gentlemen, what could it mean? The first three to enter the house finally approached the bar and called for something to drink. Then, in turn, the other three did the same thing. This was repeated before supper. The hot coffee and broiled venison, added to the whiskey, had a wonderfully softening influence upon the crowd.

"As they returned to the barroom, one of the party felt called upon to make a brief speech. In substance he said they were about to relapse into a state of barbarism. No true gentleman ever drank by himself when there was another man standing by, who could enjoy the exhilarating draught with him. No two parties, no matter how bitter their feelings might be to each other, could afford to go up to the bar in separate squads and gulp down their liquor in silence and without an invitation to all to join. 'Boys, I move we all drink together.' The entire crowd responded by going up to the bar in a body. As they stood with glasses in hand, the same speaker said, 'Gentlemen, I have another proposition to make. Let us forgive and forget all past differences and drink to the good health and perpetual friendship of each other.' They touched their glasses and drank most heartily to the sentiment. As they set their glasses upon the counter, they grasped each others' hands with a pledge of undying friendship.

"The mystery came out at last. A bitter personal quarrel was amicably adjusted as they took the last drink. The two parties had traveled from Fayette and Boonville in order to cross the river at this point to fight a duel on Sny island the next day. The party consisted of the two principals, each with his second and surgeon. Their object was to fight in Illinois so as to avoid the penalties imposed by the laws of this state against dueling. Instead of crossing the river in the morning to meet in deadly combat, the two principals, with their seconds and surgeons, journeyed back to their homes together, delighted with the outcome of the expedition. The parties consisted of Peyton R. Hayden, of Boonville, and Charles French of Lexington, the two principals; and Abiel Leonard and Hamilton Gamble, the seconds. My impression is that neither Hayden nor French ever sought

political honors, but both were eminent lawyers and highly gifted. It is barely possible that I may be mistaken as to Hayden being one of the principals, but as to the rest of the story there is no doubt. I give it substantially as Judge Leonard told it to me. The conclusion of his narrative was that 'it was the only instance in all his life that he had known any good to result from a drunken frolic.'"

A power to be reckoned with along the Missouri-Kansas border in the fifties was Uncle John who kept the Mimms hotel in Kansas City. Red Legs and Border Ruffians, Jayhawkers and slave drivers, stopped with Uncle John. They were entertained impartially, and, strange to tell, the peace was preserved among these warring elements so long as they remained his guests at the Mimms hotel. Uncle John was an ordained minister of the Missionary Baptist church. He was from Kentucky, a fearless man, a character of that peculiar reserved force which made other men feel peaceful in his presence.

THE MISSOURI AND THE FIRST LEGISLATURE.

In the First General Assembly of Missouri there was a man who called himself "Ringtail Painter." His name was Palmer and his cabin home was in the Grand River valley. While the first Legislature was holding its sessions in the hotel, Palmer insisted on occupying the same bed with Governor McNair for one night so that, as he said, he could go back and tell his friends of Fishing river that he had "slept with the Governor of Missouri."

This first meeting of the Legislature in the hotel was enlivened by one of the most unparliamentary scenes in the legislative history of Missouri. During a sitting of the senate, Duff Green and Andrew McGirk became involved in a hot argument. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Green. The two men started a fist fight. Governor McNair came forward to interfere. He caught hold of Green and was pulling him away when Palmer grabbed the governor and shouted: "Stand back governor; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff. Give it to him."

Thomas H. Benton owed his first election to the Senate to tavern environment. His friends had been able to muster only a tie vote against the opposition. And one of Benton's votes was that of Daniel Ralls who lay in the last stages of fatal illness. Benton's friends won over one vote from the opposition, giving the necessary majority if the dying man could be kept alive and brought in when the Legislature met on Monday. The fact that the Legislature was meeting in the hotel and that the dying man was in a room upstairs made the plans of Benton's friends practicable though desperate. The sick man was carried down stairs by four stout negro servants and voted for Benton. He died shortly after being taken back to his room.

In 1835 the Missouri was still famous. Isaac Walker obtained possession of it and installed a tavern keeper in whom he had confidence. The result was so disappointing that Walker said publicly this man "was not fit to keep tavern; that his butter was so strong he could hang his hat on it." The tavernkeeper sued Walker for slander and employed Uriel Wright, the foremost orator at the Missouri bar in those days, to push the case. The old Missouri hotel stood until 1873 and then gave way to a business structure.

When St. Charles became the temporary capital of the new State of Missouri, the tavernkeepers made good their reputation for square dealing by furnishing the members of the General Assembly board at \$2 50 a week. At that time pork was a cent and a half a pound; venison hams, twenty-five cents each; eggs, five cents a dozen; honey, five cents a gallon; but coffee cost a dollar a pound.

Men who became prominent in affairs of the state and successful in business undertakings were numbered among the tavernkeepers. James H. Audrain, whose family name is borne by one of the Central Missouri counties, advertised in July, 1818, that he "had opened a house of entertainment fourteen miles west of St. Charles, at Peruque, on the road from Boone's Lick to Salt River, where he hopes from his unremitted attention to make travelers comfortable and to share a portion of the public patronage."

In the *Gazette* of November 15, 1817, appeared this "Notice" over the name of Benjamin Emmons:

"The subscriber gives information that he keeps public entertainment at the village of St. Charles, in the house lately occupied for that purpose by N. Simonds, Esq., where the hungry and thirsty can be accommodated and the weary find rest."

The popularity which Mr. Emmons achieved was well shown later in 1820, when his fellow citizens elected him a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri. The selection of Mr. Emmons was the more notable in that he was the only delegate elected who favored some degree of restriction on slavery in the new state. Mr. Emmons had been president of the last territorial legislative council. Later, after the organization of the state government, he was a member of the state senate, and notable for his independence of opinion. Descendants of this Benjamin Emmons have been in every one of the wars in which the United States has been engaged. Two of them, Charles Shepard Emmons and Wallis K. Emmons, were in the World war, serving in France.

Duden, whose marvelous letters set Germany afire for migration to Missouri, told that on the south bank of the Missouri, opposite St. Charles "there lives a jolly Frenchman who manages the ferry, is postmaster and an innkeeper. His name is Chauvin; he was born in Canada. He told me that Prince Wuertemberg had spent the night with him some time ago."

Duden was mistaken about the nativity of this tavern-keeper. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was a native of St. Louis. He bore the name of the leader of the first revolution for freedom on American soil, the revolt against Spanish domination at New Orleans. The Chauvins came from France to New Orleans and thence to Ste. Genevieve and later were among the first families of St. Louis. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was of the second or third generation. He was born in St. Louis in 1794. A daughter of this Chauvin was the wife of one of the Emmons family of St. Charles.

Charles Joseph Latrobe, an Englishman who accompanied Washington Irving in his travels through Missouri and who wrote the "Rambler in North America," told of the party stopping at the tavern opposite St. Charles, "where we found shelter for the night in a little French inn, which, with its odd, diminutive bowling green, skittle ground, garden plots, and arbors, reminded us more of the Old World than anything we had seen for many weeks."

Judge Quarles, an uncle of Mark Twain, kept tavern in Paris. A guest came to the landlord with the request for a clean towel in the common washroom. "Sir," said the judge, with some show of reproof, "two hundred men have wiped on that towel and you are the first to complain."

On the stage route from the Mississippi to the Missouri river, passing through Florida, was one of the historic taverns of Northeast Missouri. It was kept by William Nelson Penn, a Kentuckian by birth, who became a man of no small consequence in that part of the state. Mrs. Penn was one of those good Missouri women whose motherly instincts went far beyond her own household. The Penns were extensive land-owners. They rented some acres to a family less well to do. When an interesting event occurred in the renter's family, Mrs. Penn gave the baby clothes which had been her little daughter's and thus, when he came into the world, Mark Twain found a wardrobe awaiting him. Mr. Penn not only kept tavern, but was a merchant. He served in the Legislature, and later was, for eighteen years, one of the officers of Monroe County.

An impressive structure for its generation was the Buchanan tavern in Florida. It was of brick and equipped on a scale of cost which befitted a community with strong hopes of being the county seat of one of the rich counties of Missouri. The time came when Florida and Paris engaged in a county seat contest, one of the most exciting in the history of the state. A compromise settlement was offered. It was proposed to make two counties out of Monroe with Paris and Florida as county seats. One of the Florida boomers was John Marshall Clemens, father of Mark Twain. The compromise was defeated. Major Howell and Dr. Flannigan

were members of the Legislature and both favorable to Paris. They got through the act cutting off a slice of Monroe county and adding it to Shelby. This reduced Monroe to the extent that it spoiled the argument for two counties. It also made Paris the more natural location for the county seat. This was a great victory for Paris but the people who were moved into Shelby long insisted that they belonged in Monroe.

Housing the members of the general assembly for the first session held in Jefferson City was a problem. The new capitol was ready before the taverns were. John R. Musick, in his "Stories of Missouri," says that one man hung out his sign to entertain when all that he had, apparently, was a board structure with office in front and dining room and kitchen in the rear. There was no floor. A legislator applied for board and lodging. "Certainly," said the affable tavern-keeper. "That is what I am here for. Plenty of good rooms and beds. I will give you Number 15." After supper the legislator said he would go to bed. The landlord picked up a candle, led the way outdoors and around back of the wooden building where there were several tents. In front of one of the tents was a piece of board stuck in the ground and painted "Number 15." Inside of the tent was a cot.

Morgan B. White was sent by Callaway county to the Legislature in the thirties. He found lodgings in the house of a widow, who assigned him a bed with four high posts and heavy damask curtains. When it came time to go to bed, Uncle Morgan said he could not imagine how he was to get in. He had never seen that kind of a bed and he didn't want to ask questions. So he pulled a table and chair to the side of the bed, climbed over the top of the curtains. Instead of stopping when he reached the feathers, he went through and struck the floor.

William G. Rice, who kept tavern on the Boone's Lick road in Montgomery county, had a scale of prices. Perhaps it might be said that he kept the first Missouri tavern on the European plan. His guests were informed that the price for dinner consisting of corn bread and "common fixins" was twenty-five cents. For wheat bread and "chicken fixins" the

charge was thirty-seven and one-half cents, or three bits according to the vernacular of that day. If the traveler wanted both kinds of "fixins" he paid sixty-two and one-half cents, or five bits. Rice was noted for precision and accuracy in his business. He became assessor of the county when there was quite a debt. He cleared off the debt and left a surplus in the treasury. Tradition has it that when he made his canvass of the county he rode a steer.

The combination of tavern keeping and preaching was not uncommon. Rev. Andrew Monroe at one time kept a tavern near what is now Danville. This was the place where another preacher, a tenderfoot in Missouri, acquired the name of "Gourdhead" Prescott. He stopped at the tavern for dinner. There being no one else to take care of his horse, the minister went out to the barn. There he found a heap of gourds, common in Missouri in that day. The minister mistook the gourds for a new kind of pumpkin, and gave a mess to the horse. Thereafter he was known as "Gourdhead" Prescott.

Rev. Andrew Monroe was one of the first prohibitionists in Missouri. The governor of the state was a guest at the Monroe tavern and called for a stimulant. Waiving his own scruples out of consideration for his distinguished visitor, Preacher Monroe sent to the store for a bottle of whiskey. And thereby he created a precedent which conflicted with his strict enforcement of church rules. Sometime afterwards, Preacher Monroe met David Dryden carrying a jug. Dryden had settled in Montgomery county recently. He was a steward in the Methodist church. He had built a mill, a horse mill, an industry much needed. Altogether he was a man of affairs. But the parson was no respecter of person when it came to church discipline. He eyed the suspicious looking package and asked: "Well, Brother Dryden, what is that you have in your jug?" To Dryden came in a flash the recollection of what he had heard of Tavernkeeper Monroe's experience with the governor, "It's some whiskey I have just purchased for the governor who is at my house." The preacher smiled and passed on.

When Lafayette was entertained in St. Louis he was astonished to see approaching him an old man in the full uniform worn by the French at the surrender of Yorktown. He was delighted when the old soldier saluted stiffly but correctly. He was moved deeply when Alexander Bellissime identified himself as a native of Toulon who had come over with Lafayette's forces to fight for American independence. After the War of the Revolution Bellissime had settled in St. Louis and was conducting a tavern which was the popular resort of the river men. He was known to everybody as "Old Alexie." His tavern was on Second street near Myrtle, in the French section. After Lafayette's departure, the veteran, who had been embraced publicly by his old commander, was in higher esteem than ever. He lived to be eighty-seven. On the red letter days of St. Louis "Old Alexie" did not fail to appear in that well preserved uniform and the three-cornered cockaded hat. When "Old Alexie" died, Captain Easton turned out the crack military company, the St. Louis Grays, and gave the veteran what would have been his heart's desire—a military funeral.

Audubon, the world-famed naturalist, in his travels about Missouri in the early forties, was impressed with the abundance of natural food supplies, and with the cheapness of things eatable. He wrote to James Hall:

"The markets here abound in all the good things of the land and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, twenty-five cents; flour, two dollars a barrel; butter, six pence for the best; fresh and really good beef, three to four cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, fifteen cents each; potatoes, ten cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, ten cents each; canvasback ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking as it were."

In a land of such plenty, Audubon felt that the tavern rates were altogether too high. He complained:

"And only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying nine dollars a week at our hotel, the Glasgow; and at the Planters' we were asked ten dollars.

We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave the day after tomorrow as it is too good for our purses."

Criticism of the management of those pioneer hotels was attended with some risk. John Graves kept the first tavern in Chillicothe. He started "the tavern house" as he called it, so early in the history of the community that many consider him the founder of the city. Graves did the best he knew how, and he thought that was good enough. One day a commercial traveler grumbled about the cooking. Graves caught the critic by the collar jerked him out of his chair at the table and kicked him out the front door.

"The blamed skunk," he said, "insulted my boarders and I won't stand for it. My boarders eat my fare and like it; and when a man makes fun of my grub, it is the same as saying they haven't sense enough to know good grub from bad. I am bound to protect my boarders."

In the earliest days of the American colonies, the house of public entertainment was often known as "the ordinary." But when that term went out of use, Americans did not take kindly to the English name of "inn." "Tavern," of good full volume of vowel sound, was adopted, and it was applied almost universally in Missouri, outside of the principal centers of population, as settlement spread. When a Missouri community reached the metropolitan class, "tavern" gradually gave place to "hotel" or "house." But tavern continued to be the popular term along the rivers and the stagecoach routes.

Upon a Missouri tavern was based one of the largest of the lottery enterprises which excited the American people about the time of the Civil war. The Patee house was the name. With two acres of ground adjoining it in the City of St. Joseph, this building, owned by John Patee, was disposed of by raffle in 1863. The property, which included all of the furniture and fixtures, was valued at \$140,000. The tickets were two dollars. They bore the stipulation that \$25,000 of the receipts from the sale of tickets would "be apportioned between those cities and towns in proportion to the number of tickets sold therein, the amount to be placed

in the hands of the authorities for any benevolent object they may deem proper."

Missouri hotel hospitality was almost the undoing of a President of the United States. President Andrew Johnson was escorted to St. Louis, September 8, 1866, by a fleet of thirty-six steamboats which met his party at Alton. With the President were General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Secretary of State Seward and General Hancock. Andrew Johnson was the first President of the United States to visit Missouri. At the Lindell hotel a welcoming address was made by Mayor Thomas, and hospitality was extended. President Johnson responded. The speeches were made from the portico over the main entrance on Washington avenue. A reception followed in the drawing room, with more hospitality and another speech by the President.

From the Lindell, the presidential party was taken to the Southern for more hospitality and more speechmaking. In the evening the banquet was given, with a menu that occupied half a column in the newspapers. President Johnson spoke again at considerable length. These St. Louis speeches were used by the House of Representatives in the prosecution of the impeachment charges. L. L. Walbridge, who reported the speeches, was summoned to Washington to testify in the trial to the accuracy of the report. The speech which gave the most offense to the Republican party in Congress was the one delivered from the Walnut street front of the Southern shortly before the banquet. Stimulated by the hospitality of the day and by encouraging interruptions of the audience, the President used very bitter language referring to his controversy with Congress. It was at St. Louis that the President described his tour as "swinging round the circle."

At Fayette was a tavern famous through two generations of Missourians. It was three stories high, a regular skyscraper for its day. Behind the hotel was an immense barn. In front of the tavern was a large block provided especially for ladies arriving on horseback. The mounting block was a part of the equipment of most Missouri taverns. It had

its place as indispensable, along with the swinging sign and the bell on the post. The rates at this Fayette tavern were fifty cents a day for man, and the same for beast. Negro hostlers were on duty day and night to take the horses to the barn. It was customary for the departing traveler to tip the hostler who brought around his horse. The tip was not a nickel, but a half dime. The bell on the post was rung when meals were ready.

In the Missouri tavern advertisements of one hundred years ago hostler was spelled without the "h." Dowling's tavern, kept by one of the pioneers, at the north end of Main street in St. Louis, announced:

"Every exertion will be made to furnish his table, so as to render comfortable those that stop at his house.

"His Bar is well supplied with the best of Liquors and an attentive keeper. His Stable is well supplied with provender and attended by a careful ostler. In short he will spare no expense to please."

Bar, Liquors and Stable were printed in large type. Tavern announcements constituted no small feature of the advertising columns of a century ago. William Montgomery advertised the opening of his tavern "at the sign of the spread eagle" in Jackson.

"He has furnished himself with all kinds of liquors of the best quality. He has provided good ostlers, and his stables well furnished with hay, corn and oats. From his long acquaintance with business in his line, and his wish to please, he is induced to believe that no person will leave his house unsatisfied."

The card of J. J. Dozier, of St. Charles, was a model of good taste. He told through the *Missouri Gazette* in 1818, that he had "commenced keeping a house of entertainment for travelers and all genteel and orderly company. He flatters himself from the accommodations his house will offer, with his strict attention and desire to please, to render all his guests general satisfaction. His charges will be as low as the country will afford; he tenders his thanks to his former customers in this line of business, and hopes a continuance of their favors with a share of public patronage."

Hampton Ball, one of the best known of Missouri stage drivers, recalled that James Huntington, a wealthy contractor, put \$6,000 in an open drawer of the public room of a Missouri tavern and left it there until morning.

"I told him," said Ball, "that it would be dangerous; that there might be some stranger, not a Missourian, of course, who would steal the money."

"You don't think any of the guests of this hotel, would be mean enough to steal do you?" Huntington said, incredulously.

Stagestand keepers, the tavern men were called where the stages made their regular stops. Hampton Ball said that "Kenner, of Paudingville, was one of the most famous. He could play a fiddle that would almost make the trees dance. He was jovial and generous and one of the most profane men I ever knew. He did not mean to be profane but he swore almost as readily as some people whistle. Although he ran a public house there was never any meal served at his table on which he did not ask the blessing. The great pioneer Methodist, Rev. Andrew Monroe, stopped at Kenner's house. The stagecoach driver suggested that Kenner ask Parson Monroe to say the blessing.

"No," said Kenner, "I ask my own blessings at my own table." And he did. On another occasion, in a single breath, Kenner concluded the blessing thus, "And for all these blessings we thank Thee, O Lord, amen; kick that blamed dog out from under the table."

Tavern keeping was honorable and tavernkeepers were honest in Missouri, as a rule. The exceptions were so notable as to be long remembered. On the old Boone's Lick road where it ran through the northern part of Callaway, a man named Watson kept tavern. He made a great deal of money for a few years. Travelers could not understand why their horses seemed to fail in appetite when they put up at that tavern. After a long time it was discovered that the tavernkeeper rubbed grease in between the rows of kernels on the corn cobs to such an extent that the horses left much of the corn untouched.

A fine representative of the type of Missouri landlords was "Weed" Marshall who furnished "entertainment" at Mayview for twenty-nine years. "Weed" was the familiar name by which the traveling public knew him. The proper initials were "J. W." Marshall was courteous to a punctilious degree, but it did not do to presume upon his good nature. A young traveling man left a call for three o'clock in the morning and in a rather unpleasant manner impressed the importance of it. Marshall had no night clerk and sat up to make sure that the guest did not miss the train. At three o'clock to the minute he pounded on the door. A grunt was the response.

"Get up;" shouted Marshall. "It's three o'clock."

"I've changed my mind," growled the traveling man. "I'm going to stay and take a later train."

"No, you're not," said Marshall. "Confound you. You get up and get out this minute. You can't fool me." And the young man left on his early train.

Marshall had been in the Confederate army. He was "with Shelby" and proud of it. When he retired from the Mayview tavern, the *Kansas City Star* told this: Traveling men found it entertaining to start a controversy as to the war record of Shelby's brigade just to arouse the ire of "Weed." One night a burly drummer, new in that territory, and under the prompting of other traveling men, started something. He began with a reference to the Civil War and his own alleged part in it. He said his command had met a body of Missouri Confederates under Shelby.

"We not only made them run," he said, "but we captured a lot of them. I captured one myself. And I made that fellow do all sorts of stunts. He was so scared he would do anything I told him. I made him roll on his back like a dog and bark when he wanted food; and lick the mud off my boots. Funny thing about it, Mr. Marshall, you somehow remind me of that man. You weren't ever with Shelby, were you?"

"Yes sir. I was with Shelby. I was that very man you captured. I have been looking for you ever since. I made a vow then that if I ever met you, I'd kill you."

With that, Marshall opened a drawer of his desk and pulled out a revolver. The big traveling man apologized hastily, said his war reminiscence was all a joke and that the other traveling men had put up the job on him. The honors of the hour were with Marshall.

Far and wide in that part of Missouri the Mayview house of entertainment under Marshall was famed for immaculately clean beds and good living.

When Zadock Woods built the first tavern in Lincoln county, one of the first houses in Troy, he enclosed not only the building but the spring with a high stockade, to afford protection for his guests, and the settlers, as well, from the Indians.

The Missouri tavern was often the outpost of civilization. When Zadock Martin, in 1828, built the tavern on the bluff at the Falls of the Platte, his nearest neighbor was fifteen miles away. Landlord Martin used hewed logs for the main part of his tavern. He attached shed rooms so that he could accommodate quite a number of guests. The Martin tavern was on the main road to Fort Leavenworth. Martin was not lonesome. He had half a dozen sons and three handsome daughters. A retinue of slaves, well drilled, enabled him to enforce his rights. He was a man of commanding presence, had flashing eyes, wore a broadbrimmed hat, carried a stout hickory cane and talked loudly. His word was law at the Falls, whether with officers or soldiers passing to or from the Fort, and also with the fishing parties which came to the Falls to carry away wagonloads of catfish and buffalo fish weighing from ten to seventy pounds. Martin raised large crops, had droves of hogs which ran wild and fattened on acorns and nuts. His herd of cattle wintered on the cane along the streams. Zadock Martin was the baron of the Falls. One of his boys attempted to play a joke on an Indian and got the worst of it. The Indian wanted sugar. Young Martin agreed to give him three pounds if the brave

would promise to eat all of it. The sugar was weighed and the eating began. The Indian ate until he had swallowed about a pound. Then he wrapped up the rest in a fold of his blanket. "Hold on!" said Young Martin, "you promised to eat all of it. Stand to your bargain." "All right," said the Indian. "Me eat him all—maybe some to day—maybe some to morrow—maybe some one odder day, Injun no lie—me eat him all—good by."

The Missouri tavernkeeper had his way of classifying his guests in pioneer days. The shibboleth was not of dress or speech so much as it was of taste. The tavernkeeper said to himself this man is a southerner and that man is a northerner after the first meal. If the guest said he would take a glass of sweet milk, that showed he was from north of the Ohio river—from a New England or a Middle state. If the traveler called for sour milk, he was at once set down as from a southern state. In St. Louis sweet milk sold at twenty-five cents a gallon; sour milk, at eighteen and one-half cents a gallon.

General Owens kept tavern in Fayette. He was a man of keen observation and wit. In his time Randolph county was the border line of Missouri settlement. The general said he could always tell his guests from Randolph by the color of their clothes. Randolph people wore jeans which were dyed with walnut bark.

Colonel W. B. Royal, a Virginian and a highly educated man, kept one of the early taverns in Columbia. He added "Semper Paratus" to the customary wording of the swinging sign. Buck Lampton, of historic memory for his readiness of speech, told people that "Semper Paratus" stood for "Sweet Milk and Potatoes."

It was customary to give the tavern the name of the owner or keeper, but occasionally originality was shown, as was the case of the first tavern built in Franklin, now Pacific. That tavern went by the name of "Buzzards' Roost."

At the old tavern in Potosi, kept by Roberts, the charge was twenty-five cents a meal; or "dinner and whiskey, thirty-seven and one-half cents." An account book kept in 1824

shows that most of the charges included the whiskey. Sometimes the whiskey was sold by the pint and then it was twenty-five cents.

Some of these Missouri taverns outlived the stage-coach. The old Ensign tavern, at Medill, in Clark county, was razed within the past half decade. It was once a popular stopping place on the road from Alexandria to Bloomington, by which the traveler journeyed from the Mississippi landing into the interior of Northeast Missouri. At Bloomington, Squire Abasalom Lewis kept tavern in what was the first house in that part of the state, with the chimneys inside of the walls. Squire Lewis came honestly by his judicial title. For years he entertained the judge and the lawyers and the clients during court sessions. A rule of the tavern, during this periodical congestion of patronage was that only the judge could have a bed with himself. From years of close association with his guests, Lewis came to have such familiarity with law and practice that he was prompted to run for justice of the peace. When a tavernkeeper went out for office he was generally successful, such was the esteem in which the vocation was held by Missouri constituencies. Squire Lewis was elected and proceeded to administer justice according to his previous observations. In one of his earlier cases he was called upon to to pass upon many objections raised by opposing counsel. With strict impartiality, the squire ruled in favor of the lawyers alternately. But at the end of the trial, two consecutive rulings were made in favor of the plaintiff.

"Look here!" said the lawyer for the defense, "Squire, you decided for the other side last time, and this was our time to get the decision."

"I know how I done," said the squire, with dignity. "In order to be fair to you fellows, I give half the pints to the plaintiff and half to the defendant, and never put one single pint for myself till the close of the case. And then you kick! Seems to me you don't appreciate fair treatment."

Squire Lewis believed in upholding the dignity of his court. On one occasion he left the bench and whipped a lawyer for contempt.

What happened at the old Glenn house in Paris furnished the ground for a church trial which agitated a large section of Missouri when the church was divided on the question of dancing. David Peavy, known from the Mississippi to the Missouri, was the first landlord, the tavern then consisting of a combination log and frame structure. His sign announced the usual "Entertainment for Man and Beast."

There was the bell on the post in front of the tavern. When a traveler rode up on a horse, Uncle Davy went out to greet him, and rang the bell as if to call a stable boy. After the guest had gone inside, the landlord took the horse to the stable and attended to it. The ringing of the bell for a mythical stable boy was a harmless bluff.

After Peavy, the tavern was kept by Anderson Woods, a Baptist preacher, and his wife Betsy. The dining room back of the hotel had been for years used for dancing parties. Preacher Woods suspended these parties. Aunt Betsy did not have the same scruples as her husband. When Mr Woods went away to fill a preaching appointment, Aunt Betsy readily yielded to the pleas of the young people and gave permission for a dance. The preacher found a creek too high to cross. He came back when the fun was fast and furious, stood for a few moments looking in at the door and said: "I can see no harm in that." But the church authorities disagreed with him, preferred charges and brought him to trial. For some years after that there was no more dancing in the tavern dining room. During more than sixty years the Glenn house was the social center of Monroe county.

W. M. Paxton attended court in November, 1839, at what is now St. Joseph but which was then Robidoux, named for the first settler. He stopped with Robidoux who kept tavern. He left this recollection of his entertainment:

"His house was peached on the hillside. It was of logs on a stone basement. I was shown to my bed on a plank frame in the base-

ment, and was given two blankets. I spread one blanket on the boards and covered with the other.

"It was a cold blustery night and I nearly froze. In the morning, before day, I heard Robidoux stirring in the room overhead, and I went up the rude ladder. I told him I had suffered with the cold. 'What,' said he, 'cold with two blankets?' I explained how I had used the blankets. He replied with contempt, 'You haven't even got Indian sense, or you would have wrapped up in them.'

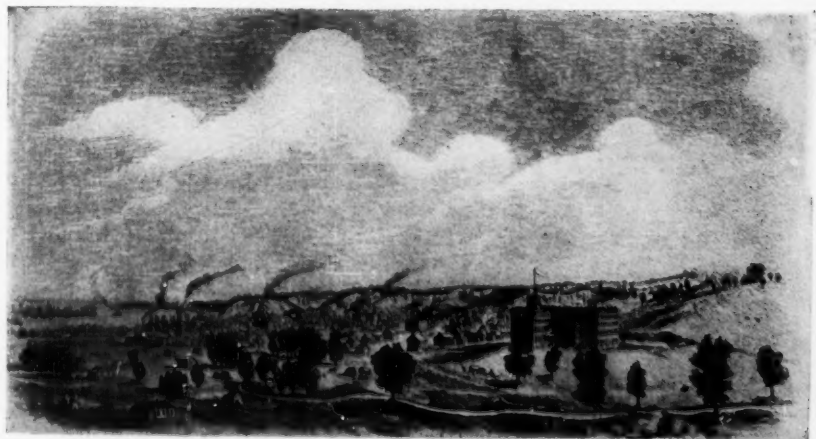
"The old man built a roaring fire, and two prairie chickens and half a dozen ears of old corn on the cob were boiling in the pot. I made a hearty breakfast on these viands. Before court met, I took a survey of the future site of St. Joseph. I saw but two houses; that where I had spent the night and the store above the mouth of the creek. The Blacksnake hills were romantic. They seemed to be composed of red crumbling earth, with here and there tufts of grass. From the sides of the hills, at intervals, broke out oozing springs of pure water which gathered into a bold stream that coursed the prairie bottom to the river. In the rear of the house, on the hillside, stood four or five scaffolds, supported by poles. On these scaffolds lay the bodies of Robidoux's children. His wives were Indians, and he buried his dead in Indian fashion.

"Court was held in one room and the elevated porch. The docket was short. The most interesting cases were several indictments against Robidoux for gambling. All the bar, except W. T. Wood, the circuit attorney, entered our names on the margin of the docket as for Robidoux. We got the old man clear on some quibble and he was happy. We charged him nothing, but he made all of us pay our tavern bills."

In the collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, is preserved the register of the City hotel at Boonville, for 1843 and 1844. Guests not only wrote their names and homes and destinations but enough information about themselves to make the book interesting reading. There was room for "remarks" and one man who must have arrived in a storm wrote after his Kentucky address, "Blanked poor weather for fools who have left the sunny South." The landlord, Edward B. McPherson, was an ardent politician and a frequent contributor to the comments on his register. On Sunday he would enter, "Let us all go to church." After one name the landlord wrote, "Left without paying his



JOSEPH ROBIDOUX
Founder of St. Joseph.



ST. JOSEPH IN 1867

bill." McPherson was for Clay, aggressively so. He made many comments on the progress of the campaign and encouraged his guests to write after their names "Clay and Frelinghuysen" or "Polk and Dallas," as they preferred. In a number of cases the guests told why they were for their favorite ticket, or offered wagers on the result. When the returns finally showed the defeat of Clay, his political idol, Landlord McPherson wrote on the register:

"Snowstorn, Polk and Dallas, Oregon and Texas, Free Trade, War with Mexico and Great Britain, Hard Money, Relapse into Barbarism, but a Division of Property first."

The signature of Thomas H. Benton appears a number of times on this register, which might seem rather remarkable in view of his antagonism to the outspoken politics of the Whig Landlord, but Secretary Shoemaker of the State Historical Society has resurrected the fact that when "the Magisterial," as Benton was sometimes called, was questioned about the propriety of stopping with a Whig landlord, he replied: "Sir, do you think Benton takes his politics into his belly?" When it was suggested that guests double up in time of congestion at a tavern, Benton's reply was, "Benton sleeps in the same bed with no other man."

There were taverns in communities so strongly Whig that Benton would not put up at them. It is a tradition well preserved in Columbia that Benton rode through the university town and went out three miles to a small tavern in the country to pass the night, rather than accept better accommodations where the opposition was so strong.

Realization of his waning hold came as a shock to Benton at a tavern during his losing campaign of 1849. Judge Fagg told the story in his graphic way.

"Still clinging to the policy of driving everything by force, and unconscious of the fact that hundreds and thousands of his old friends and supporters were gradually falling away from him—that the slavery agitators were constantly alarming the slaveholders more and more as to the security of their property—he still believed that he had the power to maintain himself in the state. He started out again 'solitary and alone' in his private

carriage, and, crossing the Missouri river at St. Charles, he took what he had been in the habit of calling in the early days, 'the Salt river trail.' He passed up through St. Charles and Lincoln counties, scarcely meeting a solitary man that he could call his friend. Late in the evening he found himself at the village of Auburn. He recognized the place and remembered that more than twenty years previously he had been in the habit of stopping with his old friend, Daniel Draper. There was the same old, hewed log house. The same old signpost from which was suspended an old sign with the letters so faded that he read with difficulty, 'Entertainment by D. Draper.' It was like an oasis in the desert. He had journeyed through an anti-Benton wilderness, but he would now be cheered and refreshed by the hearty greeting and cordial entertainment of his old friend. Stepping out of his carriage and approaching the house he was met by the old landlord, tottering with age and looking at his visitor in a sort of listless, indifferent way. He said, referring to himself as usual in the third person: 'You will have Colonel Benton with you to-night.' Still looking at his visitor, the old man replied in a voice that betrayed no emotion or surprise, 'Yes, I reckon so; all sorts of people stop here.' "

James O. Broadhead used the same incident to illustrate alike the independent spirit of the Missouri tavern-keeper of early days and the want of respect the Whigs had for Benton near the close of his career. He said that on the state road which ran through Auburn, in Lincoln county, old Daniel Draper kept tavern. Draper was a stalwart Whig and made no concealment of his political sentiments. Benton stopped in front of Draper's one day toward night and said, "Senator Benton wishes to stay all night with you." Draper was chopping wood. Without looking up he said, "Get down and hitch your horse. We are not particular about whom we entertain."

Foreigners commented upon the independent character of the American tavernkeeper. When Lafayette made his triumphal tour of this country in 1824, his party stopped at fifty taverns. One who was of the party wrote:

"We were received by the landlord with perfect civility but without the slightest shade of obsequiousness. The deportment of the innkeeper was manly, courteous, and even kind, but there was that in his air which sufficiently proved that both parties were expected to manifest the same qualities."

Lieutenant Francis Hall, an Englishman, traveling in this country in 1817, said:

"The innkeepers of America are, in most villages, what we call vulgarly, topping men—field officers of military or militia, with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think what, perhaps, in a new settled country is not far wide of the truth, that travelers rather receive than confer a favor by being accommodated at their homes. The daughters officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner."

James Stewart, a Scotchman, who wrote "Three Years in North America," devoting his attention to "a faithful and candid representation of the facts which the author observed and noted in the places where they presented themselves"—those were his words—said:

"We arrived in St. Louis on Sunday, the 25th of April, (1830) on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City hotel, in the upper part of the town, was for a fire which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water basins and a towel in every bedroom. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chambermaids never refuse to bring everything to the bedroom that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring a washing apparatus to the bedrooms that they are apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so. We had a great quantity of fine poultry at this house; and the table, upon the whole, was extremely well managed."

Mellish, an English traveler, gave high praise to American taverns. He told of one place he visited where there were sixty houses, of which seven were taverns. He described the breakfast table on which there were: "tablecloth, tea tray, teapot, milkpot, bowls, cups, sugar tongs, tea spoons, castors, plates, knives, forks, tea, sugar, cream, bread, butter, steak, eggs, cheese, potatoes, beets, salt, vinegar, pepper—all for twenty-five cents."

In his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," Charles Dickens with his severe criticisms, rasped the pride of Americans and set this country by the ears after his visit

in 1842. But Mr. Dickens was well pleased with his experience at a famous Missouri hotel:

"On the fourth day after leaving Louisville, we reached St. Louis. We went to a large hotel called the Planters' house, built like an English hospital, with long passages and bare walls, and skylights above the doors for free circulation of air. There were a great many boarders in it, and as many lights sparkled and glistened from the windows down into the street below when we drove up, as if it had been illuminated on some occasion for rejoicing. It is an excellent house and the proprietors have most bountiful notions of providing creature comforts. Dining alone with my wife in her own room one day, I counted fourteen dishes upon the table at once."

Almost contemporaneous with Missouri statehood was J. S. Halstead, of Breckenridge, who celebrated his one hundredth birthday in 1918; he had been eighty years a resident of Missouri. In his younger days he was on close relations with Henry Clay. He carried a cane presented to him by Clay who had received it as a gift from Senator Jenifer of Maryland. The cane had a history. The Maryland senator brought it from an olive tree near the burial place of Cicero. He gave it to Mr. Clay on the occasion of the latter's speech expounding the Missouri Compromise. One day a dog attacked Clay on the street in Washington. Defending himself with his cane, Clay hit a fence and broke the cane. He tried to have it repaired but was dissatisfied with the result and passed the historic stick along to his young friend, Halstead. At the observance of his centennial, Mr. Halstead told a correspondent of the *Kansas City Star* this tavern story as he had it from Mr. Clay:

An English nobleman traveling in the United States called upon Mr. Clay. He stopped at a tavern, having with him his valet. The tavernkeeper noticed that the valet seemed to keep at a distance but did not take into consideration any difference in station. When it came time to go to bed, the tavernkeeper showed milord and the valet to the same room. The nobleman protested. He said: "But I am not accustomed to being in the same room with my valet."

"I can't help that," said the tavernkeeper. "It's there for you. You will have to make the best of it."

When the Englishman got away from Lexington he wrote Mr. Clay a letter telling of his Kentucky tavern experience and commented good naturedly on the democratic ideas of American tavernkeepers.

He was a Missouri tavernkeeper who got the better of George G. Vest in a match of wits. The occasion was in old Georgetown, once the county seat of Pettis, where Vest, a young bachelor, lived at the tavern while he devoted his time to hunting and fishing and practising law. Judge Henry Lamm tells the story.

"In 1854, Vest went back to Kentucky and married, bringing his wife to Georgetown. It is said that Vest had nettled his landlord a little by intimating it was unsafe to eat his pies without first pounding on the crust with a knife handle to scare out the cockroaches. Be that as it may, the said landlord, Captain Kidd, felt no occasion to be otherwise than frank, and, when Vest brought his bride to the house and took him to her for an introduction and proudly asked what he thought of her, Kidd replied: 'By Gum! George! You must have cotched her in a pinch for a husband.' "

Hinkson creek, originally called something else, derived its name, according to E. W. Stephens, the historian of Boone county, from what befell Robert Hinkson, a tavernkeeper and one of the first settlers in that county. Hinkson had quite a herd of cattle. He started from home one morning in early winter to drive his cattle to the river bottom, intending to leave them there, as was the winter custom, to rough through till spring. When night came he stopped and camped on the bank of the stream. The next morning he drove out into the forest and kept the course as well as he could guess all day. At night he found himself on the identical spot where he had camped the previous night. The other settlers fastened the joke on Hinkson and made it a living tradition by giving the creek his name.

There are towns of considerable population, and even cities, in Missouri, the beginnings of which were taverns. The first house built in what afterwards became Columbia was General Gentry's. It was of three rooms, two of which

accommodated the young family. The third room was set apart for the traveling public. The next year General Gentry added a fourth room. His neighbors thought he was becoming extravagant. When General Gentry led his thousand mounted Missourians out of Columbia for the long journey to subdue the Seminoles, the march began from in front of the Gentry tavern where the farewell ceremony took place. The command was drawn up and the flag made by the young ladies of Miss Wales' academy was presented with its stirring inscription:

"Gird, gird for the conflict,
Our banner wave high;
For our country we live,
For our country we die."

Tavern keepers, with foresight as to coming settlement and as to prospective main traveled roads, located their houses of entertainment. When the Daughters of the American Revolution entered upon their patriotic work of placing monuments to mark the Boone's Lick road from St. Louis, they found that many of the points of most historic interest were the sites of the pioneer taverns. In St. Charles county, Kenner's tavern shared with Daniel Boone's judgment tree the honor of a marker. In Warren county Rodger Taylor's tavern was one of the spots chosen. Saunder's tavern was another. In Montgomery county monuments were placed where stood Cross Keys tavern, Devault tavern and Van Bibber's tavern. Callaway county's section of the Boone's Lick road was marked at Drover's inn, and Grant stagestand. Among the Boone county sites selected were Vivion's stagestand and Van Horn's tavern. In Howard county Arnold's inn was commemorated.

On the Grand Pass, in the thirties, when the stream of migration and commerce flowed strong along the Santa Fe trail, John and William Early, cousins of Bishop Early, of Kentucky, kept tavern. Grand Pass was a strip of high land between Salt Fork and the Missouri bottoms. Two bodies of water in the bottoms were known as Davis and Grand Pass lakes.

"The Washington Lewis Place," in Saline county, served as a tavern fifteen or twenty years. The tradition that a considerable quantity of whiskey was buried there is still current. Washington Lewis was one of three brothers who came out from Virginia about 1830, with a retinue of slaves and an abundance of household goods. The tavern was built of brick. A crack in one of the walls was said to have been caused by an earthquake in 1846. One of the first post offices in Central Missouri was in this tavern. In an upper room the pioneer Dr. Yancey had his office.

Social standing of the tavernkeeper in Missouri was of the best. So it was in many other places. It is an historic fact that the first tavern in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was kept by a deacon of the church, who afterwards became the steward of Harvard college. Religious services were held in Missouri taverns before churches were built and when bad weather interfered with the campmeeting custom. Not infrequently the Missouri tavern was conducted by a woman, usually a widow, and it was well kept. When John Smith T added another notch to his record of straight shootings, he surrendered his deadly weapon to a woman who kept a tavern. The affair had taken place in the living room of the tavern. Coming into the room at the sound of the firing, this intrepid Missouri woman did not faint because of the prostrate figure on the floor, or of the pool of blood, or at the acrid smell of the powder smoke. She went up to John Smith T and coolly demanded the pistol. "Take it, my daughter," said Smith.

An historic hotel in Kansas City was known variously as the Western, the American and the Gillis. It was built by Benoit Troost in 1849, and was on the river front, between Delaware and Wyandotte streets. In two years, 1856 and 1857, there were 27,000 arrivals at the hotel, which was enlarged by additions until it was an architectural curiosity. In May, 1856, this hotel was the hiding place of Governor A. H. Reeder, of Kansas, when he was a fugitive, trying to escape from the Missourians. Friends disguised the governor as a laborer and gave him an ax to carry. In this

way they got him out of the hotel and out of town. H. W. Chiles kept the hotel at that time. He was a strong pro-slavery man, and became the landlord of the Gillis house to save it from destruction. The property had been owned by the New England Emigrant Aid Society of Boston, and was intended to be operated to encourage migration of anti-slavery settlers to Kansas in order to make that a free state. It became known among Missourians as "The Free State hotel." As the border troubles increased, the Emigrant Aid Society, fearing that the property would be destroyed, put it in the hands of Chiles under a lease.

Pro-slavery travelers made another historic hotel their stopping place in Kansas City. That was the Farmers' hotel, built in 1856 and run by E. N. McGee, a leader in the pro-slavery party. "The Wayside Inn" was the first name of this tavern. The location was on Sixteenth street, between the river landing and Westport. Overland stages started from the Gillis house. The purchase of the Gillis for the Boston people was made by S. C. Pomeroy, afterwards a United States senator from Kansas. Pomeroy came out with the first party of anti-slavery immigrants from New England. The colonizing of Kansas was planned on such a scale that it seemed to the leaders in the movement necessary to have headquarters in Kansas City. This investment by the New Englanders, in 1854, had much to do with inflaming the Missourians, arousing them to the magnitude of the Boston intentions.

About the time that the New Englanders began coming in numbers to Kansas City, Thomas H. Benton and his son-in-law, John C. Fremont, arrived by boat and stopped at the hotel. They were on one of the strangest business enterprises of that period. Among those who met the visitors and discussed the project with them was Dr. Johnston Lykins. The wife of Dr. Lykins, afterwards the wife of George C. Bingham, the Missouri artist, told this:

"Benton and Fremont had arrived in order to complete arrangements for an experiment with camels as beasts of burden in crossing the plains during the hot season. Colonel Benton



THE PRINCIPAL HOTEL OF KANSAS CITY IN THE EARLY DAYS.
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

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entered heartily into the plan and gave his assistance in every way possible. He thought that camels would stand the travel over the sandy plains better than oxen or horses. Owing to the shortness of the season in this northern latitude the project failed, although camels were imported for the purpose. Late in the evening Dr. Lykins returned to the house to inform me that he had invited the gentlemen to dine with us the following day. Colonel Benton and Mr. Fremont came, also Lieutenant Head, and the day was long to be remembered. The conversation was mainly upon the great possibilities of the West. At the conclusion of the dinner, we stepped out upon the porch, which commanded a delightful view of the river and surrounding country. Colonel Benton appeared in the height of good spirits and turning to me said: 'Mrs. Lykins, you will take a trip to California on one of the camels, won't you?'

"'Hardly,' I replied, laughing, 'I would prefer a more comfortable mode of travel.'

"The great statesman's face grew solemn. As if in a spirit of prophecy, he said: 'You are a very young woman, and you will live to see the day a railroad will cross the plains and mountains to the Pacific coast.'

"'Colonel Benton,' I replied, 'with all due reverence to you as a prophet, your prediction is as visionary as a trip to the moon.'

"'I will not live to see the prophecy verified, but the next generation will,' he responded firmly. That was the last visit of Colonel Benton to Kansas City. The party left by steamboat for St. Louis on the evening of the same day."

The Gillis house, in the days when it was known as the American, was four and one-half stories in height, and had a cupola, or tower, in which was a bell. The ringing of the bell gave notice that the meals were ready. Guests sat at a table sixty feet long, accommodating sixty people. Three times that number were fed frequently, in relays. In one long room there were twenty beds. To take care of the overflows, the parlor floor was covered at night with shake-downs.

Through two generations much Missouri history was made in the McCarty house of Jefferson City. John N. Edwards said of it:

"What crowds it has seen and combinations, caucuses and conventions! Secesh, union, claybank, federal, confederate, radical, democrat, liberal, republican, prohibition, tadpole, granger,

greenback and female suffrage, have all had their delegates there who wrought, planned, perfected and went away declaring a new dispensation in the shape of a hotel, and that Burr McCarty was its annointed prophet. If that old house could think and write what a wonderful book it could publish of two generations of Missourians, the first generation having to do with the pioneers! The state knows it. And to the politicians of the state it has been a hill, a ravine, or a skirt of timber from behind which to perfect their ambushments. Its atmosphere is the atmosphere of a home circle. It has no barroom, and therein lies the benediction which follows the prayer."

Burr Harrison McCarty, or "McCarty of the McCartys" as Judge Henry Lamm liked to call him, came to Missouri when the state was only fifteen years old. Interested in stage lines with Thomas L. Price, Mr. McCarty built a fine home in Jefferson City in 1836. Of Virginia birth and a born host, he made his home such a favorite and popular place with Benton and Linn and the pioneer statesmen and lawyers, that he drifted into the hotel keeping, making additions from time to time to the old residence. He became the model Missouri host, with a friendly greeting to all comers. He set the pace for the landlords of a whole state with what one of his guests many years later called honest coffee, honest butter, honest eggs, corn bread baked in the skillet, poultry and game. From the McCarty house came the ways of making chicken dinners for which Missouri landlords gained fame far beyond the borders of the state. For more than half a century Burr Harrison McCarty made the McCarty house a Missouri institution. After his death, a daughter, whom a later generation of Missourians knew affectionately as "Miss Ella," maintained the traditions. When the doors closed there were Missourians in every part of the state who recalled the open wood fires, the scrupulous cleanliness, the old-fashioned cooking, and asked themselves, as did Major Edwards, "why can't a landlord like him renew his youth and make that old house of his endure forever?"

Barnum's hotel stew was a Missouri distinction in the forties and fifties. Every noted visitor—the Prince of Wales,

who was to become King Edward, included—was made acquainted with this famous ragout. Thereupon Barnum was, in popular estimation, one of the most important citizens of St. Louis, ranking with the mayor on many occasions when guests were to be paid unusual honors. He was a Vermonter, coming to Missouri in 1840 with the reputation of being the newpew of the Barnum who had kept the best hotel in Baltimore about 1825. The wife of Theron Barnum was a Connecticut woman, Mary L. Chadwick, who helped her husband make their first hotel on Third and Vine streets so famous that St. Louis capitalists raised \$200,000 and built one of the most popular hotels west of the Allegheny mountains. George R. Taylor, George Collier, Joshua B. Brant and J. T. Swearingen were the men of means who headed the movement to build the hotel. Theron Barnum guarded jealously the recipe for that stew which made all visitors wonder.

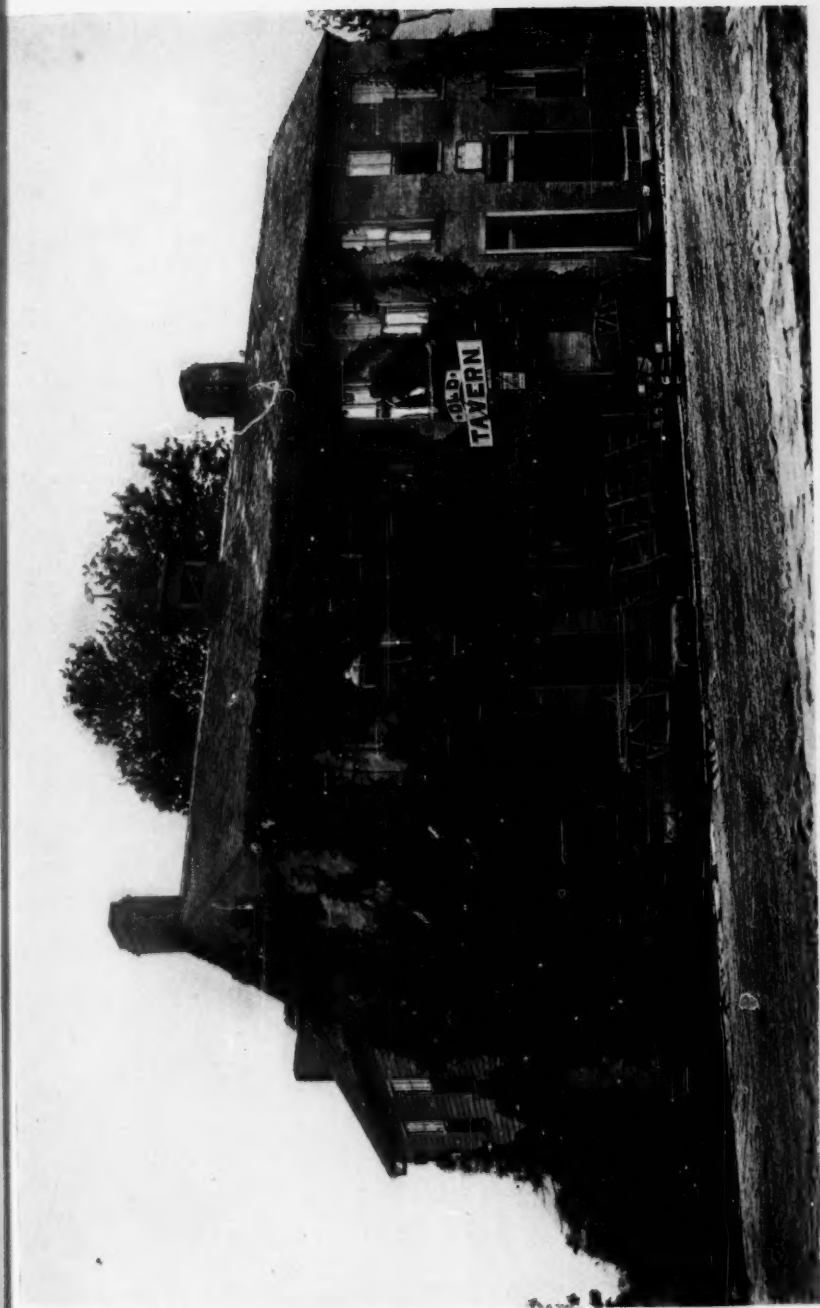
When "Dad" rang the dinner bell in the good old fashioned way, on the porch of a West Plains hotel one September noon, the guests who gathered about the long table, running the length of the dining room, counted fruit in eleven different forms before them. In the center was a pyramid of apples, peaches, pears and grapes. The fried chicken was in a setting of boiled apples. With the pork was a dish of fried apples. The dessert was the choice of apple dumpling or peach cobbler, or both. By way of relishes there were pickled peaches, plum butter and applejelly—eleven forms of fruit, and it was no extra occasion.

In a reminiscent letter to the Saline county Index, published in 1900, Dr. Glenn C. Hardeman testified to the good fare and moderate charges of a famous Missouri tavern:

"On my first visit to Saline, in 1840, I landed at Arrow Rock from a steamboat in the night, and, as I intended going to the country in the morning, I took lodging only at the hotel kept by that well known and popular citizen, Joseph Huston, Sr., for which I was charged the sum of twelve and one-half cents, or I should say a 'bit.' On my return in a few days, I dined at the same hotel and was charged another 'bit' for an excellent dinner. The currency of that day was exclusively Mexican or Spanish coin."

One Missouri tavern has not only survived Missouri's first century of statehood, but, with the marking of historic trails and the promise of good roads to encourage leisurely motor travel, has entered on a new era of popularity. The fame of the tavern at Arrow Rock is growing rapidly with the tourist. Built of brick burned by slaves long before the Civil war, with wide fire places, with solid walnut wood finish, with antlers of Missouri elk, Arrow Rock tavern charms the visitor to-day. Patriotic women have added relics and draperies. What has been done at Arrow Rock with such popular approval, suggests the possibilities of the renaissance of the Missouri tavern to accommodate the travel by motor certain to develop with paved highways.

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OLD TAVERN AT ARROW ROCK, MISSOURI

A Century of Missouri Agriculture

By F. B. Mumford.

A history of a century of Missouri agriculture is a history of the state. A record of agricultural development is a record of the economic, social and political history of the commonwealth. The reputation of Missouri, its resources, its income, its social institutions and political organization have been chiefly determined by its agricultural industry and by the rural population. Only during the later years of the century has the rapid growth of cities tended to change the general character of the industries and activities of the state from an agricultural community to one in which the difficult problems of modern life in cities of large population have become significant. It still remains true that Missouri is an agricultural state. Its agricultural interests, economic and social, are very largely the dominating forces in the commonwealth.

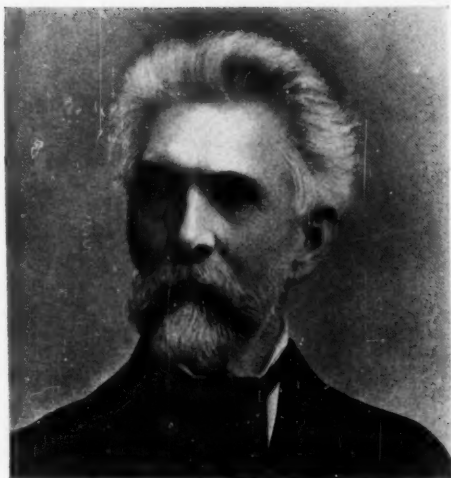
Any adequate history of agriculture must necessarily include a history of rural social institutions and especially the church and the school. But the limits of this article and the further fact that others are to write on the subjects of education and religion, suggest the propriety of the writer confining his discussion to the agricultural practices and institutions primarily the direct outgrowth of the activities of farmers as such rather than the broader relations of the agricultural peoples to commonwealth. It must therefore, be admitted that this article is imperfect, because of its limitations. Agriculture is not only an industry it is a type of life and a discussion of the industry minus a consideration of the human relations, is entirely inadequate and withal uninteresting.

THE FRENCH AS MISSOURI FARMERS.

In the early years of the century, the French had made many settlements in eastern Missouri. Land grants made to

French settlers by the Governor were usually located along streams, and the homes if possible were almost invariably located near a spring. The most common plan of settlement was an allotment to each farmer of a building lot in a village with lands adjacent in the country to which the farmer went to his daily labor. These lands radiated from the villages in long, narrow strips and it was upon these that the early farm operations of the French were conducted. In addition to the building lot in town and the farm land in the country, large areas of forest to be used in common were set aside for fuel and pasture. The farmers were required to guarantee that the land allotted to them would be used for some needed agricultural commodity. The usual method of procedure on the part of the farmer who desired land was to petition the Governor asking that he be given a certain quantity of land in a certain place and assigning reasons why the land should be allotted to him. Some of the reasons set forward were out of the ordinary. For example, in one case a gentleman petitioned the Governor for a grant of land to be used for the production of peach brandy, stating in his petition that he had become "impressed with the fact that the people of the country were suffering for the want of peach brandy." The Governor was evidently also impressed with the real necessity for supplying this lack and, therefore, granted the petition. At a later time the same man secured a grant of timber land to supply wood to run his distillery. The lands were free, no pecuniary return of any sort was required by the Government.

The agricultural implements used in the early days of the French settlements were exceedingly simple and primitive. The most important was the axe and this was usually made by the local blacksmith. The plows were made of wood by some carpenter except the point which was of iron fashioned by the blacksmith. All grain was cut by hand and in the early years of the century the sickle was the only available instrument for cutting grain. The grain was beaten out with a flail or trampled out by horses or oxen. The carting of products on the farm to market was done chiefly on two-



Roman Hoffman

Missouri's Great Agricultural Journalist and Cabinet Official.

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wheeled carts. The wheat and corn for the use of the family were usually carried on horse back to a water or horse power mill.

There were also larger grants of land made to individuals. These were often very irregular in shape, the lines running in a zigzag manner enclosing especially desirable areas. The result of these crooked and irregular boundary lines made it very difficult to locate the limits of land ownership in later times. These large grants varied in size from eighty acres to nine square miles.

The early settlers occupying the small strips of land radiating from farm villages, produced chiefly wheat for the family bread, corn for feeding the farm animals and for human food, garden vegetables, fruits and small areas of cotton to supply the lint used in the fabrication of the lighter clothing used by the family. In addition to field and garden crops the settlers raised horses for draft and transportation, cattle for work, milk and meat, and sheep for wool and meat. The wool was manufactured into clothing by women of the family and on the smaller farms there remained little for sale. The farmers occupying the large grants of land produced agricultural products for profit. Their chief commodities were cattle, horses and sheep, although later as the land was gradually cleared of the forest trees considerable areas of corn and wheat were produced.

There are few authentic records of early agricultural practices in this state. One record which covers a period several years later than the French settlements is Duden's Reports. These were the letters of a citizen of Germany writing to his friends in the fatherland. This man settled on a farm near Dutzow in Warren county, in 1825, and his enthusiastic messages to his compatriots in Europe were instrumental in influencing large numbers of Germans to immigrate to Missouri in the early periods of the nineteenth century. These interesting letters have been translated and published in *The Missouri Historical Review* for 1918. They constitute a most important record of the very earliest settlements and are freely used in this brief article.

Duden expected to pay \$2.00 per acre for the lands selected by him but discovered that the price had been reduced to to \$1.25, which was the prevailing price of Government land in Missouri in 1825.

THE PIONEER AMERICAN FARMER.

The restless pioneer farmer of this period as for many years following, sold his farm in Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania and traveled westward to Missouri, where in the primal forest or on the broad prairie he established a home, and by hunting and the practice of the most primitive agricultural methods, provided the barest necessities for his household. These westward movements invariably occurred during the fall season because of uniformly fine weather and passable roads.

We can picture the farmer and his family starting from their eastern home in a covered wagon well stocked with smoked ham, beans, peas, rice, flour, cheese and fruit, and grain for the horses or oxen. These travelers camped for the night at a wayside spring. The horses were turned loose to graze, the leader being hobbled and belled. Seldom did the draft animals roam far from the wagons, but sometimes horses would start back over the trail with the evident intention of returning to their original homes. Many animals escaping in this manner finally found themselves on the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi where these rivers join, unable to cross and continue their journey backward. Duden reports a case of two oxen that returned 100 miles to Warren county after having swum the Missouri river. A horse came back from Franklin to the same locality, a distance of 120 miles.

When the farmer arrived at the place selected for his future home his first work was to erect tents for a temporary shelter and to surround these with a fence to protect the household goods and supplies from wandering domestic and wild animals. In this pen were also confined the young calves who were not only protected from the depredations of wild

animals, but served to keep their mothers near during the day and insured the return at night.

The first task of the home builder was the erection of a permanent house for the family. This house was invariably constructed of logs from trees felled near the site of the new home. When a sufficient number of such logs were ready to haul near the proposed location, neighbors assembled to help raise the house. The construction of the log house with the help of the friendly neighbors was a comparatively short and easy task. In many cases no floors were constructed. If floors were built in the log house they were usually made of split logs either from hickory or ash. The chimney was made of wood lined with stones on the lower innerside and daubed with mud in the upper part.

Many of the houses constructed during the damp season of Spring and Fall, gave out a moldy odor from the decaying vegetable matter under the floor. This was prevented in some cases by building a hot fire over the soil before building. Having constructed a home in which the family might be comfortably housed, the pioneer immediately began clearing land of the forests in order to provide areas for the growing of crops. It is stated by Duden that the cost of clearing land in 1825 estimating one day's labor at 62½ cents amounted to \$6.00 an acre. In many cases the pioneers from the southern states brought slaves with them and the clearing was accomplished by slave labor. In the beginning only trees of one foot in diameter or less were cut down, the larger trees were girdled. The girdling killed the tree sooner or later, causing the tree to die and crops were grown in between these dead trees. Accidents sometimes occurred by the falling of large, dead limbs from these girdled trees. In many localities the stumps from the trees cut down decayed in from 12 to 15 years. The dead trees were later torn down. Such as were still standing were often blown down in large numbers during the heavy wind storms which prevailed. The danger from working among these old, dead trees was such that farmers hesitated to work among the trees during stormy weather.

LIVING WAS CHEAP AND PRICES DEFLATED.

During this early period hogs secured all their food from the mast in the forest, except in the few weeks during the winter when the snow was too deep or in seasons when the mast was not abundant. The animals running at large were marked by perforations in the ear and this mark was recorded in the books of the County Court.

Under conditions like these the farmer and his family were not lacking for the necessities of life, but if for any reason the settler was unable to produce meat enough to satisfy the needs of his family, there was abundant game in the forest and the pioneer was an expert hunter. Hunting and fishing were in those days free. No game warden and no license collector interfered with the joy of the hunter or disturbed the meditations of the fisherman. Slaves were not permitted to bear arms and hence were not generally permitted to hunt. Deer, wild turkey, rabbits and a few bear and many wolves were found in Eastern Missouri in 1825. One author states that the hunter would refuse to take home with him a turkey weighing less than 15 pounds and the price of such a turkey was 12½ cents. The price of board and lodging was \$1.00 a week.

All the early writers speak enthusiastically of the generous hospitality of the people. "Wherever a house is found," says Duden, "there one may count on finding shelter and accommodation and rarely will a farmer accept pay from a fellow countryman unless demanded."

The crops grown were chiefly Indian corn, wheat, cotton, flax and garden vegetables. Beans were often planted in the field where the stalks of corn provided supports for the vines. Pumpkins were mentioned as a good crop. The land was so rich in places that wheat could not be successfully grown because of its tendency to lodge. The principal garden vegetables grown were peas, beans, lettuce, cucumbers, melons, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes.

The early pioneer expended little or nothing for clothing. He made his own boots and his wife made the clothing for

the family. The average farmer in this early period had practically no money. About the only money actually needed was for paying taxes, but the amount needed for this purpose was exceedingly small. Government land was entirely free from taxes for five years. One fact which seems to have impressed Duden so much as to have been made the matter of special mention, was that the owner was not required to take his money to the collector, but the assessor as well as the collector hunted up the people. He was also impressed with the fact that people were free from inspection and regulation in the distribution of their products.

Labor was paid for by barter. Articles of trade were not at this time given a definite value, but changed with the demand. Under the Spanish dominion hides and furs had a legal fixed value.

The methods of cultivation were most primitive. The land intended for the production of Indian corn was marked off with a crude homemade marker and the grains planted by hand and covered with a hoe at the intersections made by marking. The corn was cultivated usually not more than once with one horse hitched to a plow. Most farms were supplied with apple and peach orchards principally for making cider and brandy and not a few made brandy from corn. A gallon of this brandy sold for 30 cents.

It must not be supposed that the pioneer farmer was unhappy or chafed under his hard conditions. All the earliest records of the life of the pioneer in the early history of Missouri, emphasize the fact that the pioneer farmers were a happy, contented and efficient people. There was genuine social intercourse and a spirit of fraternity, equality and liberty which has seldom been equalled in any community in the world.

While all this is true the life of the pioneer was not one of monotonous regularity free from care. Many difficulties encountered by the early settlers in Missouri must be recorded. The widespread, serious and often disastrous forest and prairie fires were feared perhaps most of all. These fires frequently devastated whole counties and endangered

the property and lives of many people. At such times the wild animals, bear, squirrels, foxes, wolves, raccoons and opossums mingled with domestic horses, cattle, sheep and swine, and fled together in harmony in an effort to escape the common danger.

The rattle-snake, viper, copperhead and water moccasin were very common. The troublesome woodtick and chigger were even more irritating and objectionable than the same pests in our own time.

THE PERIOD OF AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION.

The great westward expansion of agriculture occurred during the period of 1783-1830. During this period thousands of eastern farmers left their improved homesteads and traveled overland to locate and improve new homes on the unoccupied but fertile lands of the middle west.

The type of agriculture during this period was largely the self-sufficing homestead. The necessities of the family were provided directly from the farm. The raw materials were produced by the men of the family and these raw products were largely manufactured by the women of the household, who supplied practically all the food and clothing needed by the farmer.

The mechanical equipment needed to till the farm and manufactured materials for use were also in a large measure the product of home industry. It was only toward the end of the period that farming came to be more of a commercial enterprise.

FARMING AS A BUSINESS.

The period from 1830-1860 may be regarded as a period of transformation of agriculture from the self-sufficing farm to a money making business. Under the old system the farm was primarily cultivated to provide for the necessities of the family and home. Under the new plan the farm was primarily cultivated for the purpose of accumulating wealth and secondarily for the purpose of providing for the necessi-

ties of the immediate family. During this remarkable period agricultural machinery was invented and its use widely extended. Transportation of farm products by railway was also developed during this period. These changes brought about a new era in the agriculture of Missouri and began the development which has resulted in the highly equipped farmsteads of the present day with thousands of dollars invested in valuable labor saving machinery and highly improved domestic animals.

The period from 1860-1887 marks another era of rapid expansion. This is particularly true in respect to the opening of new lands. The favorable homestead laws and the use of agricultural machinery gave great impetus to this movement. The demobilized soldiers from the Civil War returned chiefly to agriculture, and were an important factor in the rapid development of Missouri and the West.

From 1887 to the present time the development of agriculture has been marked by great expansion of the use of labor saving machines and the increased use of highly improved domestic animals. The wealth of farmers has greatly increased. The value of lands has increased progressively with the improvements in farm methods. The application of scientific methods of agriculture has not only increased the income of the farmer, but resulted in increasing the value of his land and providing the increasingly insistent demands of the world for more food and clothing.

This development has not yet reached its maximum. The soil resources of the state are capable of supporting a great population and these resources can be developed through more intensive systems of farming and a more intelligent use of certain areas which are not now profitably cultivated. There are over 43,795,000 acres of land in Missouri. In this vast area not more than 22,900,000 acres are improved and fully utilized for agricultural production at this time. In that region of the state popularly called the Ozark Region, it would be possible to set down two countries like Switzerland. The agricultural possibilities of the Ozark Region are greater than the agricultural possibilities of Switzerland.

The agricultural development of the state during the century of Missouri's history has been marvelous but it is not improbable that the development of the next one hundred years may be quite as remarkable and significant.

The progressive development of agriculture in the state may be judged somewhat by the statistics which have been recorded by the U. S. Census Bureau. The table which is presented herewith indicates the total production of the two staple crops of corn and wheat and the average yield per acre by ten-year periods from 1839 to 1909.

PRODUCTION AND YIELD PER ACRE OF CORN AND WHEAT IN MISSOURI, CENSUS YEARS 1839-1909.

Year.	CORN.		WHEAT.	
	Production.	Average yield per acre.	Production.	Average yield per acre.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
1839.....	17,332,524	.....	1,037,386	.....
1849.....	36,214,537	.....	2,981,652	.....
1859.....	72,892,157	.....	4,227,586	.....
1869.....	66,034,075	.....	14,315,926	.....
1879.....	202,414,413	36.2	24,966,627	12.0
1889.....	196,999,016	32.4	30,113,821	15.5
1899.....	208,844,870	28.1	23,072,768	11.2
1909.....	191,427,087	26.9	29,837,420	14.8

PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

The prices of agricultural products and the yields per acre of ordinary farm crops are a very important index of the progress of agricultural development and the prosperity of farmers. The accompanying table includes a record of the prices of farm products in Missouri and the average yields per acre for the period from 1866 to 1919. These statistics are taken from the official records of the United States Department of Agriculture.

**PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS IN MISSOURI AND YIELD PER ACRE
1866-1919.**

YEAR.	CORN.		WHEAT.		OATS.		HAY.	
	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per T.	Yield per A. Ton
1866.....	\$0.40	30.8	\$1.40	16.5	\$0.31	30.7	\$6.89	1.9
1867.....	.47	27.2	1.43	12.4	.35	30.0	7.96	1.7
1868.....	.42	30.3	1.11	14.0	.32	32.9	8.18	1.4
1869.....	.48	30.6	.63	14.1	.32	33.0	8.85	1.7
1870.....	.39	31.4	.82	13.0	.33	25.0	11.51	1.29
1871.....	.28	38.0	1.04	13.4	.27	28.3	9.59	1.55
1872.....	.28	37.0	1.25	8.8	.20	32.7	8.02	1.2
1873.....	.35	23.5	1.04	12.8	.28	28.0	8.75	1.25
1874.....	.67	16.0	.75	13.5	.42	22.0	10.87	1.23
1875.....	.24	36.6	.83	9.0	.24	31.6	8.96	1.3
1876.....	.26	27.8	.82	12.4	.24	20.2	7.81	1.35
1877.....	.26	29.0	.97	14.0	.20	33.0	6.81	1.4
1878.....	.26	26.2	.67	11.0	.18	30.6	6.42	1.62
1879.....	.25	37.0	1.01	14.0	.26	24.6	9.43	1.06
1880.....	.36	28.4	.89	13.4	.29	25.6	9.24	1.4
1881.....	.65	16.5	1.19	8.6	.45	23.8	12.50	1.1
1882.....	.39	29.5	.85	11.8	.32	30.1	7.60	1.12
1883.....	.35	27.5	.88	10.1	.25	28.7	6.50	1.25
1884.....	.26	33.0	.62	11.8	.25	26.7	6.30	1.3
1885.....	.25	31.3	.77	7.4	.26	22.3	7.25	1.2
1886.....	.31	22.2	.63	13.2	.25	23.4	7.00	1.09
1887.....	.37	22.0	.62	16.2	.26	29.3	8.21	1.2
1888.....	.30	31.0	.80	12.0	.24	25.2	7.36	1.2
1889.....	.23	32.2	.64	13.0	.18	25.5	6.00	1.24
1890.....	.44	25.8	.83	11.0	.39	17.4	7.20	1.2
1891.....	.38	29.9	.80	13.6	.29	25.3	6.20	1.15
1892.....	.36	27.7	.58	12.5	.30	30.0	6.75	1.15
1893.....	.30	27.9	.48	9.5	.25	23.4	7.04	1.24
1894.....	.40	22.0	.43	15.3	.29	23.3	7.82	.85
1895.....	.20	36.0	.51	12.0	.18	27.7	6.80	1.17
1896.....	.20	27.0	.70	11.7	.17	18.0	4.85	1.43
1897.....	.24	26.0	.85	9.0	.19	22.0	6.15	1.15
1898.....	.27	26.0	.59	9.8	.23	17.0	5.80	1.6
1899.....	.30	26.0	.62	9.9	.24	25.0	6.25	1.37
1900.....	.32	28.0	.63	12.5	.23	27.4	6.95	1.29
1901.....	.67	10.1	.69	15.9	.43	11.2	11.99	.75
1902.....	.33	39.0	.58	19.9	.28	32.5	6.89	1.59
1903.....	.34	32.4	.71	8.7	.32	22.1	6.68	1.57
1904.....	.44	26.2	.96	11.7	.34	22.7	6.62	1.47
1905.....	.37	33.8	.79	12.4	.30	27.2	7.84	1.1
1906.....	.38	32.3	.67	14.8	.33	22.8	10.00	.78
1907.....	.47	31.0	.84	13.2	.41	21.5	9.25	1.4
1908.....	.57	27.0	.93	10.0	.45	19.3	7.00	1.5
1909.....	.59	26.4	1.05	14.7	.43	27.0	8.30	1.35
1910.....	.44	33.0	.87	13.8	.32	33.6	9.20	1.3
1911.....	.60	26.0	.88	15.7	.45	14.8	13.30	.6
1912.....	.46	32.0	.90	12.5	.35	33	9.80	1.3
1913.....	.74	17.5	.84	17.1	.45	21.2	14.50	.6
1914.....	.68	22	.98	17.0	.44	21.5	13.60	.7
1915.....	.57	29.5	.98	12.3	.38	26.0	8.50	1.52
1916.....	.90	19.5	1.65	8.5	.53	25.0	9.30	1.3
1917.....	1.14	35.0	1.95	15.3	.61	40.0	17.50	1.15
1918.....	1.43	30.0	2.05	17.2	.70	29.0	20.50	.9
1919.....	1.38	27.0	2.09	13.5	.71	27.0	19.50	1.35

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

During the hundred years of Missouri history there have been many notable attempts to organize the farmers of Missouri. Some of these organizations have made significant records in the state. During the period from 1873 to 1875, according to the best records available, there were nearly 3000 local lodges of the Patrons of Husbandry or Grange, organized in the State of Missouri. The first delegate national convention of the Grange was held in St. Louis in 1873. This organization declined rapidly in number of members and in importance until about 1890, when it was again revived and at the present time is an important and growing organization of farmers.

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union was organized in 1902. It has had a large membership in the State of Missouri and is still active. Its program and policy of work has appealed to a large group of farmers who believe that only through organization can the farmer hope to correct the economic abuses which are imposed upon the agricultural industry.

The Farmers' Alliance was organized during the years 1872 and 1875. This organization had a very wide following and included great numbers of farmers. It was largely a political organization and soon disappeared as a potent force in agriculture.

The Agricultural Wheel was organized in 1882 and was for a time of some importance.

In more recent years in addition to the Grange, the farmers' club movement with a state organization known as the Missouri Farmers' Association has developed a large number of local organizations. The purposes of the farmers' club movement in Missouri are chiefly cooperative buying and selling and the promotion of agricultural legislation favorable to the agricultural industry. This organization has accomplished a real service particularly in demonstrating to farmers that it is possible for them to cooperate in a business way and that by so doing they have been instrumental in protecting their economic interests.

The Missouri Farm Bureau Federation, a state organization with local county farm bureaus, is an organization which had its inception in the desire of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Missouri College of Agriculture to have in each county an official group of the most intelligent and progressive farmers with whom these federal and state agencies could cooperate in carrying out their educational program. There are perhaps three stages in the development of the farm bureau. The first stage being the attempt on the part of the College of Agriculture to secure a small group of progressive farmers who might constitute an executive committee who would be particularly interested and active in the interests of the County Agricultural Agent. This plan developed to a point where the College of Agriculture required that in every County there be organized not less than 250 farmers who should constitute the County Farm Bureau with regularly constituted officials.

The second stage in the development of the Farm Bureaus came during the great war against the Imperial Government of Germany. In organizing the Nation for war purposes the National Government found it desirable to have an official organization of farmers with whom it could cooperate. The success of the County Farm Bureaus had been so great that the Federal Government decided that an increased production campaign necessary to win the war should be carried on through and in cooperation with the County Farm Bureaus. The great success of this campaign, due to the efficient organization of the County Farm Bureaus, is now history.

After the war the County Farm Bureaus throughout the United States believed that the organization should be placed on a more permanent basis and should have a state and federal significance and while still continuing to cooperate with the Colleges of Agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture in all educational work it was at the same time to be a strictly farmers' organization entirely independent of Federal or State control.

The first Missouri County Farm Bureau and the first County Agent appointed by the College of Agriculture was located in Cape Girardeau County August 1, 1912. In the following year 1913, organizations were perfected in Pettis, Buchanan, Johnson, Audrain, Dade, Jackson, Marion, Scott and Cooper Counties. In 1914, the counties of Greene, St. Francois and Saline were organized and County Agents appointed and organized agricultural work undertaken. In 1915 the counties of Carroll, Butler, Knox and St. Charles all established Farm Bureaus and employed County Agricultural Agents in cooperation with the College of Agriculture. Farm Bureaus were organized and county agents appointed during the year 1917 in Chariton, Lincoln, Mississippi, Linn, Adair, Cass and Sullivan counties. The success of the work and general satisfaction of farmers with this movement is indicated by the remarkable increase of County Farm Bureaus employing County Agents in the year 1918. During the latter year the counties of Stoddard, Dunklin, New Madrid, Livingston, Howell, Montgomery, Vernon, Jasper, Howard, Clinton, Pemiscot, Holt, Madison, St. Louis, Webster, Lafayette, DeKalb, Caldwell, Pike and Gentry arranged for cooperative educational work with the College of Agriculture by the appointment of County Agricultural Agents.

The close cooperation of the members of the County Farm Bureaus in handling finances and appointing committees in charge of various special phases of agricultural development work and in general support of the County Agents has been most significant and important.

Missouri was the first state to form a state federation of County Farm Bureaus. This was organized at Slater, Mo., in 1915. Annual meetings were held at Boonville 1916, Sedalia 1917, and Pertle Springs 1918. The next annual meeting was held at Columbia during the Farmers' Week in January 1920. At this latter meeting a new and broader constitution was adopted which provided for a fund for the state organization. At the present time, May, 1920, there are forty-one counties which have reorganized their farm bureaus

and definitely related themselves to the State Farm Bureau Federation. The average membership per county at the present time is over 800 members. The constitution recognizes the family as the unit of membership including husband, wife, and minor children. In general the local farm bureaus give both man and wife a vote in the deliberations of the organization.

A large number of farmers organizations having special interests of a particular type of farming in mind have been developed in Missouri, one of the oldest and most important of these is the Missouri State Horticultural Society, which was organized in 1857 and has had a continuous and successful existence. For many years it received state aid and published a valuable report which was prized by agricultural libraries not only in this country but throughout the world.

Other organizations which have had an important influence upon the agriculture of Missouri are:

Live Stock Producers' Association,
Corn Growers' Association,
Holstein Breeders' Association,
Duroc-Jersey Breeders' Association,
Saddle Horse Breeders' Association,
Draft Horse Breeders' Association,
Poultry Association,
Apicultural Society,
Agricultural Dairy Association.

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTIONS.

The College of Agriculture.

The College of Agriculture has its origin in the beneficence of the National, State, and local governments. On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln signed the bill providing for the establishment of Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The Missouri College of Agriculture was located at Columbia as a division of the University of Missouri. The Federal law has determined the character of the instruction of these institutions in the following words,—“the leading object shall be, without including further scientific

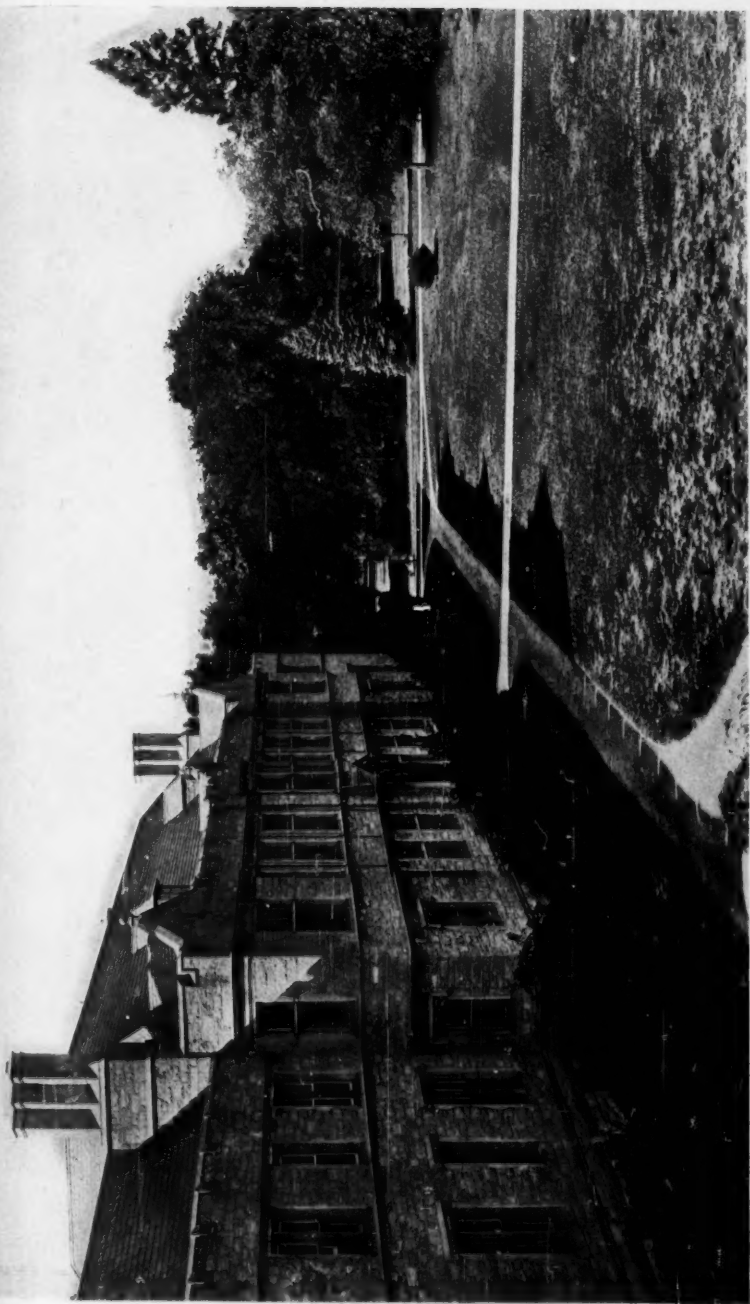
and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such a manner as the legislators of the states may respectfully prescribe."

For the location of the College of Agriculture, Boone county made a donation of \$90,000 for the erection of a building and the purchase of lands. A part of the Federal funds are by State law given to the School of Mines and Metallurgy located at Rolla, Missouri.

The early years of the College of Agriculture were years of difficulty. The enrollment of students was very small, the number of teachers limited, and the appreciation of this new type of education was lacking on the part of farmers and others. At so late a time as 1895-1900, the average number of graduates of the College of Agriculture was only two persons. After about 1900 the enrollment in the College of Agriculture increased. The average enrollment in the College of Agriculture from 1900 to 1907 was 166. From 1907 to the outbreak of the great war the increase in enrollment was rapid. In 1914-15 there were more than 1000 students receiving instruction in the College of Agriculture. During the war the enrollment fell off rapidly amounting in 1918-19 to only 325. The enrollment again increased very rapidly and at the present time (1920), the enrollment of students in the College is over 900.

The institution through the farmers trained at the College has had a profound influence upon Missouri agriculture. At the present time more than 400 young men who have received instruction in the College of Agriculture return each year to the management of Missouri farms. More than 4000 farmers in Missouri have received training in the College of Agriculture.

Each year in January, for one week, the College gives a short course in Agriculture, in the subjects of Animal Husbandry, Soils, Farm Crops, Horticulture, Entomology, Dairy Husbandry, Rural Economics and Home Economics. It was estimated that 3500 farmers and their wives attended this event in January, 1920. The State Board of Agri-



COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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culture furnishes the evening programs for this Farmers' Week event and through their cooperation the visitors to the College of Agriculture have had an opportunity to hear some of the greatest agricultural authorities in America.

The Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Agricultural Experiment Station, established in 1887, is a division of the College of Agriculture. Its purpose is to serve the industry by making original investigations of the problems of the farmer. It is an attempt to bring to agriculture the benefits of modern scientific investigation. It has made important investigation on all lines of agriculture and has a large staff continuously at work making investigations in soil management, improvement of field crops, animal nutrition, plant pathology, horticulture, insect diseases, animal diseases, poultry farm management and rural sociology.

The Director of the Experiment Station publishes annually a report including a list of the projects and significant results of value to agriculture. The Station issues bulletins reporting the results of its work. These publications are free to Missouri citizens.

The Agricultural Extension Service.

The Agricultural Extension Service, founded June 8, 1914, is also a division of the College of Agriculture and its purpose is to carry directly to the farmers themselves the results of the investigations made by the Experiment Station. Its organization includes specialists in the various important phases of agriculture and so-called County Agricultural Agents. The latter are located in the counties and are constantly available for help in the solution of the problems of production and distribution. The Agricultural Extension Service, like the Experiment Station, has a special federal appropriation which is available only on condition that the state appropriate an equal amount for the same purpose.

The State also maintains a Fruit Experiment Station and a Poultry Experiment Station at Mountain Grove. These institutions are entirely supported by State funds.

MISSOURI STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

The Missouri State Board of Agriculture was established by act of the Legislature in December 1863. It is recorded that three different attempts were made to secure a meeting of the five members necessary in order to organize the Board. The Board was finally organized March 13, 1865. The first President was Henry T. Mudd, of Kirkwood. The first Corresponding Secretary, L. B. Morse, and the first Recording Secretary, John H. Tice. The headquarters of the Board were in St. Louis until 1878, at which time they were changed by Law to Columbia, Missouri. The first appropriation made to the Board of Agriculture was \$100.00.

The growth of the Board of Agriculture in importance and power has been significant. The appropriations for the Board of Agriculture have increased from year to year until in 1919 they amounted to \$159,100.00 for the general activities of the Board and \$127,000.00 for the State Fair.

In the beginning the duties and responsibilities of the Board of Agriculture were limited, but from time to time the responsibilities of the Board have been increased until to-day it has become one of the most important branches of the state administration. The more important activities of the Board are, the administration of the veterinary service, Farmers' Institutes, Bureau of Markets, Bureau of Dairying, the commercial feeding stuffs and pure seed laws, and the management of the State Fair. The Board of Agriculture publishes an annual report and monthly bulletins which have had an important influence upon the agriculture of the state.

Some of the notable achievements of the Board of Agriculture should be especially mentioned. From the very beginning the Board of Agriculture took an active interest in the location and development of the College of Agriculture. It assumed an active interest in the location and utilization of the Agricultural College lands and insisted that the income from such sales be devoted to the purpose intended by Congress. It has for many years ap-

SCENES AT MISSOURI'S STATE FAIR GROUNDS, SEDALIA

"Education Through Concrete Exhibits"—The State Fair



ART HALL

In which the Educational Exhibits are shown.



LIVE STOCK PAVILION

Where Stock is Judged and Prizes Awarded.



GROUP OF STUDENTS IN BOYS' STATE FAIR SCHOOL.

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pointed annually a Committee on the College of Agriculture and this committee has investigated the activities of the College and reported to the Board on the progress and development of the Institution. The activities of the Board of Agriculture in recent years have been chiefly in the direction of the development of administrative or regulatory projects for the improvement of agriculture. The Board of Agriculture is an important part of the administrative machinery of the state, having in charge the administration of agricultural legislation intended to protect the producer and regulate commerce in agricultural products.

The Board of Agriculture is bi-partisan, its members are appointed by the Governor, one from each congressional district. The present officers of the Board, (1920), are:

President.....Arthur T. Nelson.
Secretary.....Jewell Mayes.

The Board of Agriculture is under the law also a State Fair Board in charge of the Missouri State Fair. Separate officers are elected for the State Fair Board and the officers at present are:

President.....A. C. Dingle.
Secretary.....Ernest G. Bylander.

MISSOURI AGRICULTURE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.

The progress of the agricultural industry during the first century of Missouri history may be in a measure appreciated by a glance at the statistics of production for the year 1918.*

The value of all farm crops produced in the state for the year 1918 was \$462,856,000.00. If there be added to crop values animal products, wool, butter, milk, poultry, eggs, hides, furs, game, animals slaughtered and miscellaneous, the value of the total product reaches the enormous sum of \$940,504,910.00. In addition to these sums there remained unsold on Missouri farms live stock valued at \$406,862,000.00. If this sum be added to the values for farm crops and animal products, we have a total value of farm products in Mis-

*Year Book Missouri State Board of Agriculture, 1919, page 160.

souri for one year of \$1,347,366,910.00. These values are to a certain extent inflated, due to war time prices. It is probable that these values should be reduced by one-third or one-half in order that an average annual valuation can be accepted as a true picture of the economic condition of the agricultural industry at the end of the century.

The area of all crops in 1918 was 14,870,400 acres. The average value of crops on each farm being \$1,685.00 or \$243.00 for each person living on a Missouri farm.

The acreage of improved farm crops in 1918 was as follows:

Corn.....	6,693,000 Acres.
Wheat.....	3,092,000 Acres.
Oats.....	1,524,000 Acres.
Tame Hay.....	2,989,000 Acres.
Potatoes.....	114,000 Acres.
Cotton.....	156,000 Acres.
Rye.....	34,000 Acres.

In January, 1919, there were in Missouri 1,040,000 horses, 374,000 Mules, 919,000 Milk Cows, 1,782,000 other cattle, 1,599,000 sheep and 4,943,000 Hogs.

The average for male farm labor in 1918 was \$35.00 a month with board or \$45.00 a month without board. The daily wages were \$2.85 with board or \$3.45 without board through the harvest time and for other periods labor with board was \$1.90 a day and without board \$2.60 a day.

The average value per acre with improvements was \$80.00 on March 1, 1918. At the same time land without improvements was valued at \$60.00 per acre.

The total investment in the agricultural industry in Missouri at the end of the century including land, live stock, supplies and equipment amounts to the stupendous sum of \$4,155,000,000.

The next century of Missouri Agriculture will undoubtedly show more remarkable improvement. The agencies for agricultural development were organized during the last quarter of the century. These have been developed so rapidly and have had such a remarkable influence in the improvement of the agricultural industry that we may expect an exceptional

improvement in the profits from farming, yields per acre, better utilization of land and improvements and in living conditions surrounding the agricultural industry.

A Century of Education in Missouri.

By C. A. Phillips.

IMPORTANT LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR SCHOOLS.

The first Constitution of Missouri took into account the importance of education in the following statements in Article 6, which included two sections on education, one general and the other specific, relating primarily to the University. Section 1 said, "Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this State; and the General Assembly shall take such measures to preserve from waste or damage such lands as have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States for the use of schools within each township in the State, and shall apply the funds which may arise from such lands in strict conformity to the object of the grant; one school or more shall be established in each township as soon as practicable and necessary, where the charges shall be taught gratis." From the above quotation it will be observed that the State at once assumed the obligation of making provision for general education. Moreover, the unit for administration is at once set out as the township. This unit of administration was retained until 1853. No central control of any kind was vested in the county and each township was in complete control of school inspectors, who were also denominated directors. These directors employed and examined the teachers and visited the schools to determine their efficiency. The act which was passed by Congress making provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union also set apart each sixteenth section of land thruout the State, together with seventy-two sections of saline lands, for the support of public schools. This made a total of 1,254,000 acres of land. This became the basis for Missouri's permanent school funds. Of course, before any money was available for the support of schools, the lands had to be sold and the proceeds invested in such a way

as to secure an income. This is too long a story to be presented in the limitations of such an article as we are to present here.

Statutory Enactments: The State Legislature in 1825 practically made it mandatory for each congressional township to form a school district and provide for at least one school. The county court was invested with enough authority to see that this provision was put into operation. At the same time laws were passed giving power to apply rents from the school lands, fines, penalties and forfeitures for school purposes.

In 1833 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint a committee to formulate a complete system of common and primary schools. Governor Dunklin appointed Joseph Hertich, John J. Lowery and Abel R. Corbin. This committee did its work in a very comprehensive fashion. An elaborate report was prepared which was submitted to the Governor the same year. After much discussion and tremendous pressure exerted by the Governor, the General Assembly in 1835 passed laws incorporating the more important features of the Committee's report. These features are as follows:

1. The report provided for a Board of Commissioners for literary purposes. In reality this is the organization of the first Board of Education of the State. The board consisted of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer and Attorney General. It is interesting to observe this is the form of the present State Board of Education.

2. The report provided that schools should continue for at least six months in each year.

3. Schools were to be supported out of the school funds in each county.

4. The law made provision also for local taxation as follows: A vote taken over the whole county could secure three and one-third cents on each one hundred dollars for school purposes on two-thirds majority vote. A board of three trustees was provided for with corporate powers. The course of study to be taught was reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and such other branches (theology excepted) as the funds might justify.

The General Assembly in 1837 gave authority for the investment of the Saline Land Fund and the United States Revenue Fund in Missouri bank stock. However, it was provided that the funds must amount to \$500,000.00 before any payments were to be made. This sum was reached in 1842, at which time the first apportionment of moneys was made to thirteen counties in this State at the rate of sixty cents per pupil.

The General Assembly in 1839 passed what was known as the Geyer Act. In reality this made provision for a complete state system, and it should be stated that Missouri's school system, such as she has, may be said to have had its origin in the content of this legislation. The provisions of this act provided for the constitution of the common school fund of the State, county school funds and township funds. Moreover, conditions were provided again for the sale of the sixteenth section. It may be noted that this legislation made provision for the permanent school funds of the State. The act also provided for a State Superintendent of Common Schools to be chosen by joint ballot of the Senate and House of Representatives for a term of two years. The Superintendent was expected to exercise an oversight over the schools of the State, and he was required to distribute state school moneys among the several counties of the State wherever public schools were maintained. The law required that the distribution of moneys should be based on the number of white children between the ages of eight and sixteen years. This remained the school age until the second constitution was adopted in 1865, when the age limits were changed so as to include all persons between five and twenty-one years. The constitution of 1875 required the State to provide gratuitous instruction for all persons between six and twenty years of age.

The first one of these laws made provision only for white children. The constitution of 1865 especially provides for separate schools for the children of African descent; so does the constitution of 1875.

The laws enacted in 1839 also made provision for a state university with limitations. Consequently we have a state system mapped out. However, it should be called a "paper system" for it was really never put into operation.

In 1853 the General Assembly made a complete revision of the school laws. Among the more important changes may be mentioned the fact that the State Superintendent was charged with looking after the general interests of the schools of the State again, and he was to be elected biannually by the people. Provision was made for the selection of a County Commissioner of county schools, whose duty it was to examine teachers and grant certificates of qualification for the same, to apportion the school moneys of his county, to call meetings of the voters when necessary, and to visit the schools as often as necessary. The congressional township was again made the school township, but permission was granted to divide the township into districts, not to exceed four, when the inhabitants of the township so desired. Each of the townships was under the control of three trustees, who were empowered to hire teachers, levy taxes, make rate bills and perform such other services as were necessary to render schools efficient. At this time definite provision was made for twenty per cent of the state revenue and the dividends arising from the funds invested in the Bank of the State of Missouri, to be apportioned annually by the State Superintendent to the several counties in the State, according to the enumeration of children in each between the ages of five and twenty years. Special provisions were made in these laws also for orphans and the children of indigent parents to attend the schools free.

The constitution of 1865 had a very elaborate article on education. Some of the more important provisions should be quoted here. Section 1 stated, "A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the General Assembly shall establish and maintain free schools for the gratuitous instruction of all persons in this state between the ages of five and twenty-one years."

Section 2 stated, "Separate schools may be established for children of African descent. All funds provided for the support of public schools shall be divided in proportion to the number of children without regard to color."

Section 3 vested the supervision of instruction in a State Board of Education whose powers and duties shall be prescribed by law. The superintendent of Public Schools was made president of this board, and he was elected for a term of four years by the qualified voters of the State. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General were the other members of the board.

Section 4 required the General Assembly to establish and maintain a state university with departments for instruction in teaching, agriculture and natural science.

Section 7 provided that no township or school district could receive any proportion of the public school fund unless a free school had been maintained for not less than a period of three months during the year for which the distribution was made. The General Assembly under this constitution was given the power to enact a compulsory attendance law.

Provision was also made for levying taxes to provide for a minimum school term of four months.

Under State Superintendent Parker a very elaborate school code was provided and presented to the General Assembly. In the annual report for 1867 Superintendent Parker sets out with much detail the new scheme. It was really a wonderful scheme and would do justice to a modern commonwealth at the present time. In fact, in a good many respects it would be much better than the present system of laws. It is not worth while, however, to give any extended account of this system in such a brief article as this for the reason that it was enacted immediately after the war period and really was never completely put into operation. Moreover, there was a very radical revision of the Parker laws in 1874, with a complete decentralization of the Parker scheme, and the district system was set up instead of the centralized plan of Parker.

The constitution of 1875 was such as to allow the provisions of the new laws enacted in 1874 to remain in force or to

be re-enacted. The constitution of 1875 reaffirmed the necessity of education by quoting directly the paragraph of the constitution of 1865, except that the age limit was changed as has been noted in another paragraph. The same requirement is kept for the minimum length of public schools, namely three months. It may be observed that the laws of 1909 now provide that a district to receive any of the public funds shall maintain a school for at least eight months, provided a levy of forty cents on the hundred dollars is sufficient to meet the expenses of such a term. It may be observed also that under the present scheme of giving state aid to the weak rural school districts it is possible for nearly all of the schools in the state to have an eight months' term. The constitution also made it mandatory for school officials to establish free public schools for the children of African descent.

Section 7 of the constitution of 1875 made it mandatory for the General Assembly to set apart not less than twenty-five per cent of the total state revenue for the exclusive use of public schools. However, the General Assembly in 1887 enacted a law which set aside thirty-three and one-third per cent of the general revenue for school purposes and each succeeding General Assembly has made similar appropriations. The constitution also specifically prohibited the General Assembly, county, city, town, township, school district or other municipal corporation from using any of the public school fund to aid directly any religious creed, church or sectarian purpose, or to aid any school or institution of learning controlled by any religious creed, church or sectarian denomination.

Since the constitution of 1875 was adopted, at various times the General Assembly has enacted a good many statutes concerning education. In 1870 the law providing for normal schools was adopted. In 1903 the General Assembly passed a law providing for the inspection of high schools, thru which the high schools obtained a legal status. Of course, many high schools had been in existence before this, but they really had no direct legal status. Teachers' institutes were made mandatory under the Wolfe laws, which were passed in 1890 and

some form of county teachers' association has been compulsory since that time. In 1905 a compulsory attendance law was enacted, requiring all school children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend not less than three-fourths of the school term. In 1899 the General Assembly passed the first important consolidation law. In 1909 the General Assembly passed the special state aid law for weak districts. At various times this law has been amended until now it is possible for weak districts to secure \$200.00 directly from the state funds.

Another very important law was passed by the General Assembly in 1909 which made provision for state-wide county supervision. The county superintendent's office had been abolished in 1872 and the State Legislature had passed a local option county supervision law. However, from 1872 until 1909 only twenty-two counties had availed themselves of the option. The new law made it mandatory for each county to select a county superintendent and gave a state subsidy of \$400.00 to help his salary.

The General Assembly in 1913 enacted several very important pieces of legislation. At this time the teacher-training law for high schools was passed. It provides for pedagogical training in certain high schools, so that preparation may be made for teachers to go at once into the elementary schools after completing the course outlined. A certificate is issued by the state which is good for two years in elementary schools. The principle of giving subsidies for special purposes in high schools and to enable certain communities to have high schools was established by the High School Aid Law. The free text book law and the school board convention law were enacted at this time. In 1917 a law was passed for the promotion of vocational education. This act was passed in order that the state might avail itself of the privileges and benefits of the Federal Vocational Education Law, known as the Smith-Hughes Act.

This section of the article would not be complete without paying tribute to the services of the several state superintendents who have held that important office, and especially to the State Teachers' Association which has labored in season

and out for better constitutional and legislative conditions for Missouri schools. More recently the Legislative Committee of the State Teachers' Association has rendered most efficient service in promoting legislation and settlement for better school conditions thruout the State.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

From the beginning it was thought that elementary education was necessary for the preservation of the life and liberty of the people. Indeed, each of the constitutions quoted above has expressed this general philosophy. It is very easy to account for this being incorporated in our system of education. The early influences on Missouri are traced to New England where this doctrine had been thoroughly established in the thinking of the people. In other localities in Missouri the southern influence was a considerable influence in the development of the schools. However, the largest single influence comes thru the ideas of Thomas Jefferson. He believed profoundly that the state should be responsible for the education of all its citizens. His theory embraced a complete system of education from the primary grades to the university. It may be said that his ideas were incorporated most thoroughly in the elaborate scheme of the Geyer Act which was passed in 1839.

The early schools were voluntary efforts made by small groups of families co-operating. They are commonly denominated "subscription schools," the school being supported by each parent paying so much per child, the fee being collected by the teacher himself. In addition to the regular fees the teacher was boarded around a week or longer at a time by each family from which children came to the school. Moreover, presents of various kinds were often given to the teacher. These schools were usually three or four months in length and held in the winter time. However, it was not at all uncommon for another school to be held in the spring of two or three months length so that the small children might attend. This type of organization furnished the basis for a district system. However, as has been observed

in former paragraphs, the early legislative enactments made provision for a township organization, which was never so very effective, and in 1874 the legislation enacted made the district system the basis for school organization. At the present time in the state there are 9,581 separate school districts. The early schools also included the academy, which was partly elementary in curriculum, for the reason that it was not at all uncommon to have a junior branch in which was taught reading, writing, ciphering, spelling, and sometimes the unusually brilliant pupils were allowed to take grammar and geography. The academies, however, will be discussed in connection with secondary education.

The early enumerations of school children were very inaccurate. At the time of the first distribution of funds in 1842 the funds were prorated on the basis of 3,332 children and thirteen counties participated in the distribution, namely, Benton, Boone, Clark, Cole, Cooper, Greene, Lafayette, Livingston, Marion, Monroe, Ralls, Saline and Shelby. The last school enumeration in June, 1919, gave the grand total of 914,255 children, of whom 44,129 were colored.

The first distribution of school funds from the State amounted to \$1,999.60. The last distribution of State moneys for the school year 1919-20 amounted to \$2,692,-821.99—whereas the expenditure on public education in the State for that same year amounts to \$21,942,418.05. This seems a large sum. However, when our attention is called to the fact that that is about \$25.00 per enumerated child it will be noted that we are not expending any very extravagant sum. There has been directly appropriated from the State Treasury from 1842 to the present time no less than fifty million dollars for the support of public education. However, the major portion of this sum has been expended in the last three decades.

The school funds of the State held in the various funds now amounts to more than fifteen million dollars. These funds were constituted when the system was organized in 1859 as district, county and State. In the main they came from the sale of public lands, fines and escheats. In 1837 \$382,-

\$335.30 was added to these funds from the surplus revenue which was obtained from the federal government. At the present time the General Assembly appropriates one-third of all of the general revenue for school purposes, and about one-half of all of the revenues of the State are appropriated for education in its various forms.

The early courses of study were made up chiefly of the "three R's," to which later were added history, geography and grammar. However, it was not uncommon for big boys and sometimes girls to study higher branches of history, mathematics and the languages, especially where no academy was directly available. In the 80's Pestalozzi brought in the nature study movement and elaborated the natural sciences. In the 90's the Herbartian influence caused a very positive elaboration of the study of history and literature, with some additional emphasis to geography and nature study. About 1900 agriculture was put in as a required subject in the elementary schools, and at the present time we have considerable agitation for what has been denominated as "vitalized agriculture." The present State course of study for elementary schools outlines in somewhat elaborate fashion courses for drawing, music, home economics, manual training and physical education.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

The State has made provision for special forms of education for subnormal children. As early as 1839 the State provided the scheme for the training of deaf children, and in 1847 a definite statute was enacted to support the same. The Deaf and Dumb Institution was organized in 1851 and located at Fulton. In 1851 the School for the Blind was opened in St. Louis by Mr. Whelan. At first the school was in his residence. In 1852 the matter was presented to the State Legislature and an appropriation was made for the support of the same.

The Training School for Boys was established by the General Assembly in 1887 and located at Boonville. It is the purpose of the school to take care of the boys who have committed some offense against the State, or who are somewhat

incurable and not suitable for membership in the ordinary school. Regularly the State makes appropriations for the support of this institution. The Industrial Home for Girls was established by an act of the General Assembly in 1887 and located at Chillicothe. It is the purpose of this school to provide a home for girls who are vagrants or otherwise not able to conform to the general standards of society. It is not the immediate purpose of the institution to try to reform girls who are already criminals; it is more the desire of the institution to prevent girls from becoming socially impossible. The school is organized on the cottage plan.

The Colony for Feeble Minded was established by an act of the General Assembly in 1889 and located at Marshall. It is the purpose of this institution to make provision for the feeble minded and epileptic, especially children.

In 1909 the Forty-fifth General Assembly made provision for the establishment of a State Industrial Home for Negro Girls. This institution is located at Tipton. Its purpose is to take care of negro girls on somewhat the same plan as the Chillicothe Industrial Home takes care of white girls.

For these various forms of special education, since their organization, the State directly has appropriated something more than twenty-two million dollars, including the appropriation for the year ending 1920.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The secondary schools of Missouri would be classified broadly as academies and high schools. Very early the academies were organized thruout the State. Some of these academies were chartered by the State, and others were merely corporations of various kinds. The early incorporated academies were Jackson, chartered in 1820 in Cape Girardeau county. The St. Charles and Franklin academies were also chartered in 1820. Louisiana Academy was chartered in 1822, St. Marys in 1822, Potosi in Washington county in 1824, Ste. Genevieve in 1824, Boonville Adademy in 1825, and Fayette Academy was established in Howard county in 1825. These

and many others might be mentioned. They were all organized primarily on the historical background of the English public schools. It was estimated by Dexter that there were in the State in 1850 not less than 204 of these academies and that there were enrolled in them not less than 8,000 students. There were also organized many female seminaries, some of them being opened as early as 1820. Among the earlier may be mentioned Elizabeth Aull at Lexington in 1820, Lindenwood at St. Charles in 1830, Howard Payne at Fayette in 1834. Very early some military academies were organized too, or rather grafted on the form of the old time academies.

At the present time, except for certain religious organizations, the academies and seminaries of all kinds have nearly passed out of existence. From several hundred they have dropped down to a score. A number of the female seminaries are now the junior colleges of the state, of which there are at the present time sixteen; namely, Central College for Women, Christian College for Women, Cottey College for Women, Culver-Stockton College, Hardin College for Women, Howard-Payne College for Women, Kansas City Junior College, La-Grange College, Lindenwood College for Women, Marvin College, Missouri Christian College, St. Joseph Junior College, Stephens Junior College, Synodical College, The Principia, and William Woods College. If the limits of this paper warranted many of them could furnish a very interesting story. There are only three surviving military academies; namely, Kemper Military at Boonville, Missouri Military at Mexico, and Wentworth Military at Lexington.

The American high school is really one of the most marked contributions to the spirit of democracy. There are no European institutions which correspond to it or parallel it. It is an outgrowth of the yearnings of the common people for the higher forms of education. Moreover, it is the gateway thru which the people enter into the higher professional studies in the colleges and universities. The first high school in the State was organized in the city of St. Louis in the winter of 1852-53. In fact, the school was opened the first Monday in February in 1853 with seventy pupils. These pupils were

required to pass special examinations after a completion of the elementary schools as this was not that a definite qualification for secondary education. The second high school was opened in St. Joseph in 1866 and the third in Kansas City in 1867. However, the high schools have no legal status in any of the constitutions of the State. They legally exist on a statutory basis at the present time, and this basis was not very firmly established until 1903 when provision was made for the State inspection of schools by the State Superintendent or a deputy in connection with his office.

The development of high schools was at first very slow. In 1899 Superintendent Coleman reported twenty-seven four-year high schools, thirty-eight three-year high schools and sixty two-year high schools. The university list for 1890 included nineteen high schools and five academies, each being completely affiliated. After the university employed a visitor the high school development was much more rapid, and since the time of State inspection and visitation the high school development has gone on with marked rapidity. At the present time there are three hundred and two first class high schools, one hundred and sixteen second class and one hundred and eighty-eight third class, making a grand total of six hundred and six fully classified high schools in the State. When you consider that there were only two hundred and three in 1908 these figures are striking, for the reason that it indicates an increase of practically two hundred per cent in about ten years. For the year ending June, 1919, there were enrolled in the high schools 60,699 pupils, and there were graduated from these schools 8,699. The eighth grade graduates this same year were 31,330, which indicates that there is something yet to be done in high schools to attract and hold all of the pupils who are graduating from the eighth grade. If such were the case the enrollment should be near 100,000 instead of 60,000.

However, the most important development about the high school has been the democratized curriculum. The early academies and high schools were for such students only as expected to attend college. At the present time, however,

the modern high school curriculum in the State makes provision for practically all sorts of people—teacher-training classes for those who would begin teaching, vocational agriculture, vocational home economics, the trades, all the sciences, histories, languages and technical subjects. Indeed, a modern high school curriculum is the equivalent of the ordinary college curriculum of thirty or forty years ago, except for the language demands made by those colleges. But in science, literature and the vocational aspects of education this new American invention in the State is immeasurably the superior of the old time college.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Under higher education may be grouped the colleges, universities, and the normal schools. However, the last Legislature classified the normal schools as teachers' colleges. The earliest higher institution of learning to be organized in the State was the old St. Louis academy, which has become St. Louis University. The beginnings of this institution were made in 1818, and the school was taken over by the Jesuits in 1827. The institution finally became St. Louis University under charter by the State in 1832. Provision was made for the State University in the first constitution in 1820. The Geyer Act of 1839 made very definite provision for a State university to crown the public school system. The enabling act of Congress in 1820 set aside two townships of land and some other lands as the resources from which to establish a seminary in the State. However, the university itself was not established until 1839, when it was located, by a commission authorized by the Legislature, at Columbia. Central College was established in 1844, William Jewell in 1849, Westminster in 1853, Washington University in 1854, Drury in 1873, Park College in 1875, Tarkio College in 1883 and Missouri Valley in 1888. These with Central Wesleyan of Warrenton and Missouri Wesleyan at Cameron constitute what is now known as the College Union, which was organized in 1893. The organization of the College Union resulted in the standardization of higher education in the State. It also had a marked influence on high schools and all secondary education, for the reason

that minimum standards of education were defined. Of course it is understood that these standards were all based primarily on the work of the Committee of the National Education Association with respect to secondary education. Undoubtedly this organization resulted in very much good for higher education in the State because it brought higher education out of the unorganized and nebulous condition into which it had necessarily grown. All of these institutions are on a secondary footing at the present time and may be represented as rendering most efficient service to society.

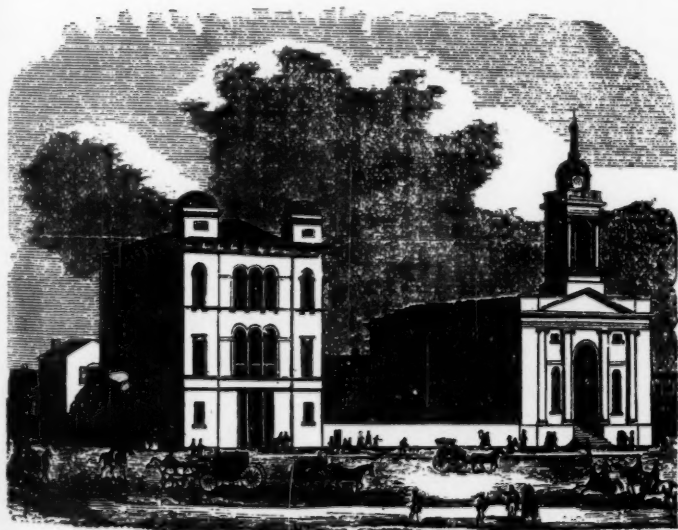
The normal schools of the State were organized in 1870. They were established under the authority of an act of the legislature in March, 1870. At this time two schools were established, one at Kirksville and one at Warrensburg. In 1873 a third school was established at Cape Girardeau and in 1905 two additional schools were established—one at Springfield and one at Maryville. These schools are under the control and management of boards of regents, appointed by the governor for a term of six years. During the existence of these schools more than 145,000 students have been enrolled in them and more than 23,000 licenses to teach have been issued by them. The university also from the beginning contributed to the preparation of teachers. The constitution of 1865 required the university to establish a chair of didactics, and at the present time the university has a well organized School of Education.

Professional education is provided for by the University of Missouri, where there are colleges of Agriculture, Arts and Science, Law, Education, Engineering, Journalism and Commerce and preparatory work for Medicine. St. Louis University makes provision for professional and educational work in Theology, Law, Dentistry and Commerce. Washington University has well organized professional departments in Law, Fine Arts, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering and Architecture.

One of the most interesting developments in higher education is the Conference Agreement, which includes the State University, all of the Teachers Colleges, in co-operation with



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI IN 1874
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)



ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1858, NINTH STREET AND WASHINGTON AVENUE
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

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the State Superintendent of public education. This organization was perfected in June, 1916. Among the more important items in the agreement is mentioned the complete standardization of entrance credit for all colleges, an exact definition of the amount of college work to be completed in a year, a Conference Committee to visit each of the educational institutions each year, and an agreement upon professional nomenclature for courses in education in all of the institutions. It is doubtful if there ever has been a more important or far-reaching voluntary agreement entered into by higher institutions in any state. While it is only a short time since the agreement went into complete effect the good results are already many and profoundly significant.

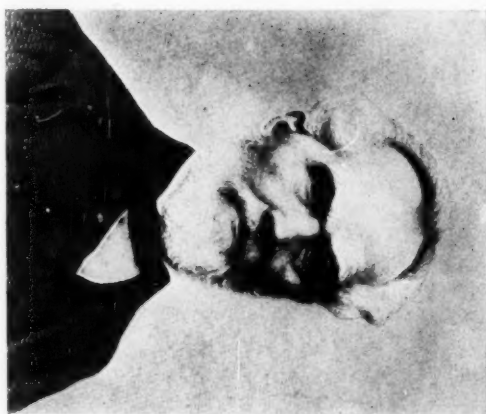
Only brief mention has been made of the education for negroes. Some sort of provision for elementary education was made in each of the constitutions. The present constitution makes it mandatory for schools to be maintained for the negro race on the same basis as for the other children of the State. Very good elementary schools have been organized in all parts of the State where there has been sufficient population to justify the same. Moreover, in nearly all the cities there are good high schools for the colored people. In 1866 Lincoln Institute, located at Jefferson City, was organized, providing higher education for the colored people of the State. In 1879 this institution was taken over by the State and since that time appropriations have been made for it regularly as for other educational institutions. In 1877 a normal department was organized and since that time the normal diploma from that institution is a life license to teach on the same basis as diplomas from the School of Education of the various teachers colleges in the State. Biannually the State Legislature makes appropriations for this institution as for other educational institutions in the State. Moreover, the same obtains federal grants from the federal government under the various types of education for which the federal government offers subsidies. It has been the recipient of subsidies under the Morrill Act.

Much more might be written of a historical nature concerning the schools of the state. At present practically every

form of education known in the civilization of the American nation may be found in the Commonwealth of Missouri in some stage of progress. One of the most characteristic things about school progress in Missouri is that it has been of a voluntary nature. At all times there has been the minimum amount of coercion in the legislation of the provisions for education in the State. The largest measure of initiative has been allowed in local communities for the development of schools. One of the pressing needs for educational progress in the State at the present moment is a new constitution to remove some of the direct limitations on local initiative in matters of education as well as other important institutional activities.



MAJOR JAMES S. ROLLINS
"Father of The University of Missouri."



JOHN HIRAM LATHROP
First President of The University of Missouri.

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A Century of Missouri Politics.

By C. H. McClure.

BENTON IN MISSOURI POLITICS: 1820-1858.

Missouri was admitted to the union at a time when political parties were not well organized. The old Federalist party had ceased to exist, and the party of Jefferson had been dominant in the nation for twenty years. This dominant party was in the process of breaking into factions, each of which was composed of the personal following of some prominent leader. This period has been misnamed "The Era of Good Feeling." It was in reality a period of personal enmity and rivalry among political leaders. It was characterized by duels which often ended fatally. The application of Missouri for statehood brought about the first great national struggle on the slavery question. Slavery was not at that time a question upon which the people divided politically, but the contest over the admission of Missouri made it a political question. The slavery question later led to the formation of political parties holding opposing views on slavery.

In Missouri there was little division of opinion. A very large majority of the people favored the admission of the State without congressional restrictions. Practically all of the leaders were non-restrictionists.

Politics in Missouri first became important in the contest for delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1820. A group of lawyers in St. Louis had organized and named a ticket of eight delegates, the number St. Louis was allowed. All but one of the eight were elected. During the sessions of the convention this group, known as the "lawyer caucus," seems to have been very active. Its members arranged to divide up the State offices among themselves. Among those connected with the lawyer caucus, David Barton, Edward Bates, Thomas Benton, Alexander McNair and Henry S.

Geyer were prominent. The spoils of office rather than political issues seem to have been the chief factor in holding this group together.

For the first decade the political contests in the State were personal. In 1820 voters were Jackson men or Clay men. Both Jackson and Clay were Westerners and both had many admirers in Missouri. Clay was probably the more popular in 1824. At any rate both United States Senators, Barton and Benton, and the Representative, John Scott, were Clay men.

In the election of President by the House of Representatives in 1824, Clay was eliminated. His supporters voted for Adams. Benton advised John Scott to cast Missouri's vote for Jackson, a western man, rather than for Adams, the eastern candidate. Scott, who was a great admirer of Clay, disregarded Benton's advice and voted for Adams. Scott was defeated at the next election.

Benton became a follower of Jackson and Barton remained a Clay supporter. Jackson carried every county in the State in 1828. Benton became dominant in Missouri politics and Barton was retired from the United States Senate at the expiration of his term in 1830. This contest was purely personal. It was Jackson versus Adams. No distinct political issues were involved. During Jackson's first term the questions of money and banking were made political issues by Jackson's attitude toward the United States Bank. Benton was an earnest supporter of Jackson in his fight on the bank. The anti-bank arguments appealed strongly to the pioneers of Missouri. A great many people had suffered loss by the failures of the territorial banks in Missouri and were ready to listen to and approve of the hard money arguments of Senator Benton.

By 1832 the Democratic party, under the leadership of Jackson, Benton and Van Buren, had become definitely committed to the policy of opposition to the United States Bank. Benton went a step further and became an ardent advocate of the use of hard money. He was so insistent upon his plans for making coin the chief money, especially of the poorer



ALEXANDER McNAIR
Missouri's First State Governor.

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classes, that he came to be called "Old Bullion." He favored the prohibition of the issue of all paper money of lower denomination than twenty dollars. He argued that the poorer classes would not lose as a result of bank failures if the issue of paper money was restricted to the larger denominations, as a laboring man would seldom have twenty dollars in his possession.

The money question was the paramount political issue in Missouri from 1832 to 1845. The Democratic party was victorious in every contest and gradually increased its majority until in 1844 it reached ten thousand. Even the Whig landslide of 1840 seemed to have little if any effect upon increasing strength of Missouri Democracy. In spite of the fact that the Whigs had a popular western military hero, William Henry Harrison, for a candidate and the Democrats were compelled to vote for an easterner, Van Buren, who was never popular, Benton managed to hold Missouri in line for hard money, and kept the undivided support of the Democracy of his State until 1840.

The Bank of Missouri which had been chartered in 1837 was so limited by its charter that it could not suspend specie payment, neither could it issue currency beyond its ability to redeem its notes. In fact, it was a Benton bank, except that the lowest denomination of notes it might issue was ten dollars instead of twenty dollars, as Benton advocated. In 1839 all banks of the West, except the Bank of Missouri, suspended specie payment. The bank was compelled to take measures to protect itself. These measures caused much inconvenience to the business men of St. Louis. The Bank of Missouri, which was a State bank and therefore a Democratic bank, because the Democratic party controlled the State, was supported and defended by the Democratic papers and officials. But in the St. Louis city election of 1840 a group of Democrats organized and opposed the Bank and its policy. These men were called "Softs." This was the beginning of a Democratic faction which extended to all parts of the State and secured control of nearly one-half of the Democratic newspapers. The "Softs" were out-generated in the State Democratic Con-

vention of 1844. Later they put out a separate State ticket and did all they could to defeat Senator Benton, the recognized leader of the "Hards." Benton was re-elected by only eight votes. After the contest within the Democratic party in 1844, the "Soft" faction ceased to exist. The Democratic party seemed to be reunited. Its candidate for Governor in 1848 Judge A. A. King, was elected over the Whig candidate, James S. Rollins, one of the most cultured and popular men of the State, by majority of nearly 15,000.

But the reunion was more seeming than real. A group of young leaders were coming into prominence in the State. They had been chafing under the dictation of Benton for years. A number of these men had been aligned against Benton on the money question. When, in 1844, Benton opposed the treaty annexing Texas, which Calhoun had negotiated with Texas, many of the younger men took advantage of the opportunity to come out against Benton. Among these was C. F. Jackson. In November, 1848, when the General Assembly met, a group of these younger men got together and formulated a set of resolutions on the slavery question. These resolutions were similar to a set of resolutions which Calhoun had introduced in the United States Senate and which Benton had violently opposed. In the spring of 1849 these resolutions, known as the Jackson Resolutions, were reported out of Jackson's committee and passed by the General Assembly. They made the slavery question a party question for the first time in Missouri history. The Whigs, by a party vote, opposed the Jackson Resolutions. As was undoubtedly anticipated by the framers of these resolutions, Senator Benton opposed them. The General Assembly had instructed the Missouri Senators to vote in the United States Senate in accordance with the Resolutions. Benton appealed to the people of Missouri on the Resolutions in one of the most spectacular and vindictive speaking campaigns ever waged in the State. The Jackson Resolutions represented the position of Calhoun and the extreme South on slavery extension. Benton took the compromise position advocating the extending of the Missouri Compromise line and opposing agitation of



THOMAS HART BENTON

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the slavery question, on the grounds that it threatened the Union. Benton won by a majority of seventeen in the contest for the control of the Democratic members of the General Assembly. But the Anti-Benton Democrats would not support Benton, the caucus candidate. The Whigs who endorsed Benton's position were not willing to vote for him for Senator. They had succeeded in electing sixty-four members of the General Assembly and they voted solidly for Henry S. Geyer, Whig candidate for the Senate. The Anti-Benton Democrats finally supported Geyer and he was elected.

The issues raised in the contest of forty-nine remained the paramount issues until 1860. Benton was prominent in the campaigns of 1852, 1854, and 1856. In 1852 he was elected to Congress from the St. Louis district. In 1854 he was defeated for Congress in St. Louis, and was again a candidate for the United States Senate. The contest in the General Assembly was so bitter that no Senator was chosen. Atchison was retired, and Missouri had only one Senator for the next two years. In the election of 1856, Benton ran for Governor. For the first time, the election of 1856 showed a majority of his own party against him.

The issue in all these contests had been the same. Benton opposed the opening of the slavery question to agitation, declared the Union was endangered, and declared the principles of the Missouri Compromise should be followed. The Anti-Benton men scoffed at the idea of the Union's being endangered and claimed to be as strongly for the Union as Benton himself.

Benton died in 1858. One of the last acts of his life after he could no longer speak was to point his old friend Frank P. Blair, Sr., to a passage in his manuscript on "The Congressional Debates" which contained Clay's wonderful appeal for the Union. In this way he indicated that his last advice to his followers was the same as that of his life-long rival. Benton had declared in 1849 that the issues of the contest were above parties, but he had not been able to convince people of the truth of his statement. With Benton's personality removed, his influence in Missouri seemed increased rather than dimin-

ished. Before his death he had seen the tendency on the part of some of his followers, especially Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, to go over to the Republicans, and denounced them for it as follows: "My friends told me that these men would turn out for abolition in the State as soon as the election was over, but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the State, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do, is the greatest outrage I have ever experienced."

But the greater part of the Benton Democrats, true to his leadership, took the moderate position on the slavery question, and became Douglas Democrats in the exciting campaign of 1860. The contention of Benton that the slavery question was above parties, proved to be true, and Missouri endorsed Benton's position on the question twice by heavy majorities. Once in the election of 1860 when the Conservative Candidates Douglas and Bell polled 117,000 of the 165,000 votes, and again when the Union cause triumphed by 80,000 in the election of delegates to the convention of 1861.

CIVIL WAR PERIOD, 1858-1872.

With the passing of Benton from Missouri politics there was no longer any leader sufficiently prominent to become the central figure in the political contests of the State. Not only was there no dominant political leader but the great parties themselves were going through a process of dissolution. During the prolonged Benton-Anti-Benton contest in the Democratic party which had lasted from 1849 to 1856 the Whig party had practically disappeared. By 1858 the great political currents of the Civil War period were strong enough to influence the political activity of the people of the State, but as these were little understood at that time the political action of all men and groups of men was uncertain.

The Southern Democrats held the State offices and controlled the State Committee of the Democratic party. They were unquestionably a minority of the whole people and prob-

ably a minority in their own party, but is seemed impossible for their opponents to unite.

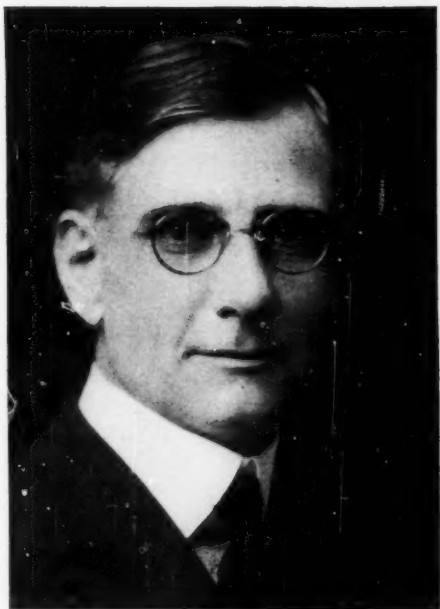
The first important movement of the period was the effort of the opponents of the Southern Democrats to form an organized opposition party. Old Whigs, The American party, Republicans, and Dissatisfied (formerly Benton) Democrats were agreed in opposing the Democratic administration, both State and National, but they could not find sufficient interests in common to even furnish them a name to use in the effort which was made to organize the opposition. Under the name "The Opposition" a number of county conventions were held. These invariably put forward the name of Edward Bates for the presidency. Finally a State convention was held in Jefferson City, February 29, 1860, and Edward Bates was nominated for the Presidency. The Republican State Convention was held in St. Louis March 10, 1860, and decided to place the name of Edward Bates before the National Republican convention as a candidate for the presidency. A committee was appointed to write to Mr. Bates and to ask him for an expression on the leading questions of the day. In answering these questions Mr. Bates placed himself squarely on the Republican Platform. This made him impossible as a candidate of the opposition. Deprived of the name and influence of Mr. Bates the opposition failed to perfect their organization in the State.

The Democratic party divided upon the slavery question at the Charleston convention. The moderate wing of the party nominated Douglas for the presidency. The greater part of the dissatisfied Democrats of Missouri could support Douglas. The Whig element of the opposition supported Bell.

The Democratic State convention had been held January 8, 1860. This was long before the Charleston convention. The Southern wing of the party had been in control of the organization in Missouri for a number of years. A large proportion of the men nominated for both State and county offices were of that faction.

After the split it soon became apparent that a large majority of the party was for Douglas. The candidates, when compelled to declare themselves, followed the lead of C. F. Jackson and said they were Douglas Democrats. The Breckenridge men then nominated a State ticket. The Douglas Democratic ticket carried the State by a small plurality over the Bell-Evert ticket. The vote for president was as follows: Douglas 58,801, Bell 58,372, Breckenridge 31,317, Lincoln 17,028. The two conservative tickets had polled 117,173 votes while the radical Southern vote was only 31,317. The election showed that the Breckenridge Democrats had but little more than half the strength of the Douglas Democrats. Yet they had elected the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State and a plurality of the General Assembly, due, doubtless, to the control of the organization before the split in the party.

Governor Jackson declared that Missouri should stand by her sister states of the South and advised the General Assembly to call a constituent convention to consider the relations of Missouri to the United States Government. The General Assembly passed the resolution calling the convention. The issue in the convention campaign was secession. Frank P. Blair succeeded in uniting the conditional and unconditional Union men in the support of a Common Union ticket. The Union forces won by approximately 80,000 majority, and a very large majority of the delegates were Union men. The convention met February 28, 1861, and passed resolutions declaring there was no cause for secession and advocating compromise measures. It then adjourned subject to the call of a committee of its members, should there be need for another meeting. Fort Sumpter was fired upon and Lyon and Blair saved the arsenal at St. Louis. Jackson called for 50,000 State troops and under the ruse of neutrality in reality espoused the Southern cause. Lyon in a well planned campaign drove Jackson to the southwest corner of the State. The convention was called together by the committee and provided for a loyal provisional Civil Government of the State and chose Hamilton R. Gamble for Governor. Lyon's stand



ARTHUR M. HYDE
Missouri's Present Governor.

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at Wilson Creek gave time for this government to get control of the State and use its great resources to aid the Union cause. The convention provided an oath of loyalty in October, 1861, which all officials in the State were required to take. All who refused to take the oath were replaced by loyal men. This gave the provisional government the loyal support of all local officials.

The convention provided another oath in June, 1862, which all voters, teachers, jurors, lawyers, preachers, and professors of the State University were required to take. This left the Union party without opposition, but it soon divided into two factions on the question of emancipation. Gamble and Blair were leaders of the gradual emancipationists. So important was the question considered that Blair resigned from the army and came home to St. Louis to run for Congress on the gradual emancipation ticket, in the fall of 1862. He was elected by a very small plurality. In the spring election of 1863 the immediate emancipationists carried St. Louis by a large majority. This indicated a strong drift of sentiment toward the radical position.

The General Assembly elected in 1862 was strongly in favor of emancipation, but was divided as to whether it should be gradual or immediate. Therefore nothing was done. The St. Louis City elections showed such a drift of sentiment toward immediate emancipation that Governor Gamble decided to anticipate the movement. The gradual emancipationists claimed that although the General Assembly had no power to abolish slavery, the constituent convention elected in 1861 had the same power as a constitutional convention and could emancipate the slaves. Acting on this theory Governor Gamble called the convention together in June, 1863, and recommended the gradual emancipation of slaves.

The convention passed a gradual emancipation act and adjourned *sine die*.

The radicals were not willing to accept the action of the convention as the final solution of the problem. Their leaders immediately began an agitation for a State convention to discuss the general situation in Missouri. A mass convention was

called for Jefferson City in September, 1863. The convention passed resolutions denouncing the Gamble government and Gamble was requested to resign. A constitutional convention which should provide for immediate emancipation was demanded and a committee of seventy, with Charles D. Drake as chairman, was appointed to visit President Lincoln and request the removal of General Schofield from the command of the department of Missouri. This committee visited the leading cities of the North en route to Washington and was everywhere received with enthusiasm by the Radical element who were demanding the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the border States and the use of negro troops against the South. This was the beginning of the Radical movement which nominated Fremont against Lincoln in 1864 and finally after Lincoln's death obtained control of Congress and eventually dictated the reconstruction of the Southern states and gave the negro the ballot.

Lincoln refused the chief requests of the committee. The Radicals of Missouri then issued the call for the National Radical Convention at Cincinnati which nominated Fremont. After this movement failed they sent a delegation to the Baltimore convention which voted against Lincoln. The Radicals secured control of the State government in the election of 1864 and a resolution calling a constitutional convention was carried by more than 29,000 majority.

The provisions of the act calling the convention gave it power to do three things: 1. Abolish slavery. 2. Provide for the purity of the ballot. 3. Make such other amendments as might be necessary. The convention abolished slavery immediately by a vote of 60 to 4. The ballot was safeguarded by requiring all voters to take a detailed and extensive oath of loyalty. An oath of loyalty was also required of all professional men. The convention soon decided that it had authority to write an entirely new constitution. A new constitution was accordingly drafted. It included the act abolishing slavery, and the oath for voters and also a similar oath for professional men. The General Assembly and county courts were given extensive powers.

The campaign on the adoption of the new constitution was brief but heated. No one was allowed to vote who could not take an oath of loyalty prescribed by the convention. Governor Fletcher and Senator Henderson at first opposed the adoption of the constitution and it was rumored that Senator Brown was coming home from Washington to head the campaign against it. But Fletcher changed front, Henderson withdrew his opposition and when Brown was compelled to take a position he came out in favor of the new constitution.

Charles D. Drake led the fight for adoption. He stigmatized all who were opposed to the constitution as disloyal rebels or copperheads. The opposition within the Radical party was either whipped into line or driven from the party.

The result of the election was for a long time in doubt. The soldier vote in the field was required to decide it. The final vote was 43,670 for the Constitution and 41,808 against it.

The oath for professional men was very unpopular. An organization to establish religious and political liberty was started. Ex-Union generals Frank P. Blair and John S. Phelps were among the leaders, but the movement was tied up with the Johnson reconstruction policy and never made any headway.

The Radical General Assembly passed a registration law which was intended to enforce the provisions of the Drake Constitution and allow only loyal men to rule. The opposition to the Radicals called a convention at Verandal Hall, St. Louis, October 26, 1865, and organized the Constitutional Union Party. The new party opposed the new constitution, and favored executive reconstruction, and professed ardent unionism. The growing differences between President Johnson and Congress made the contest more bitter in Missouri. The Radical party condemned the President and injected national issues into the State Campaign. Both parties became thoroughly united. The first expression from the people came at the city elections in the spring of 1866. State and national reconstruction was the issue and the Radicals were badly beaten, but the registration law was not yet in operation.

The campaign was then pushed with vigor by both parties. The Democrats joined the Constitutional-Union party. Frank P. Blair made a speaking campaign through eighteen counties. The Constitutional-Union party made their campaign on State issues, while the Radicals emphasized National Reconstruction and upheld the Registry Act. The Constitutional-Union party perfected and maintained an elaborate organization from a Johnson club in every township to a State committee, but when registration day came the Constitutional-Union voters did not register in great numbers. Their campaign slogan of "Swear and vote" had failed. The election gave the Radicals large majorities and the Constitutional-Union party passed out of existence.

Soon after the November election of 1866 a secret meeting of Radical leaders was held at the Planters House in St. Louis. This meeting is very significant for it marks the beginning of the split in the Radical party which later gave rise to the Liberal Republican party and through that party returned the State to the control of the Democratic party. Little is known of the meeting except the resolutions which were adopted. These were introduced by Senator Brown and favored universal suffrage and full amnesty. They were adopted by a vote of 16 to 3. Charles D. Drake and two of his friends voted against them.

The General Assembly, which had an overwhelming Radical majority met in January, 1867, and elected Charles D. Drake to succeed Senator Brown, who had been leader in the Planter House conference. In the spring of 1867 Carl Schurz came to St. Louis from Detroit, Michigan, to become editor of the *Westliche Post*. Within a year Schurz had replaced Drake as the leader of the Radical party. He was a capable, far seeing leader, and had a tolerant attitude.

In December 1867 the opposition to the Radical party undertook the reorganization of the Democratic party. Old line Whigs like James S. Rollins, William F. Switzler and Silas Woodson worked in harmony with Democrats like John S. Phelps, Frank P. Blair, Ex-Governor A. A. King and Willard P. Hall. But the Radical party was easily

victorious in the election of 1868. Grant carried the State by 25,000. The Democratic press claimed that the registrars refused to register 20,000 voters who appeared and took the required oath. The Radicals had a large majority in the General Assembly. This insured the election of a Radical to the United States Senate. Soon after the election the leading Radical paper, *The Democrat*, and Carl Schurz began to advocate a more liberal policy. But Drake and his friends were not willing to allow any change. Thus two distinct wings appeared in the radical party, one led by Schurz and the other by Drake.

The first contest between the factions took place over the election of a United States Senator. Schurz was the candidate of the Liberals, and Loan, a congressman from the northwest part of the state, was Drake's candidate. Drake and Loan were defeated in the Radical caucus and Schurz was elected.

A Constitutional amendment giving the suffrage to the negroes had been defeated at the election of 1868. The Liberals now proposed to unite amnesty with negro suffrage and enfranchise the ex-Confederates and negroes immediately. A majority of the Radical newspapers of the State followed the lead of the *Democrat* and advocated the voluntary removal of political disabilities of the ex-Confederates. The Liberal press declared this would be not only an act of justice but also of good politics. While Drake did not have the newspaper support which Schurz had he did have the McClurg administration with him.

Frank P. Blair had, soon after his return from the army, refused to take the "Test Oath." His ballot was refused by the election judges and he immediately brought suit to test the constitutionality of the "Test Oath." This suit was now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States and a decision was likely to be handed down any time. The Liberals believed the court would declare the oath unconstitutional. The Democrats, who also believed the test oath would be declared unconstitutional, said the Liberals were simply playing politics and trying to make a virtue out

of a necessity. But the Supreme Court declared the test oath for voters constitutional. This was a hard blow for the Democrats. They had sneeringly accused the Liberals of merely playing politics in favoring enfranchisement, declaring they wanted to get the credit for doing what they knew the Supreme Court would do.

The Liberals now proved their sincerity by continuing to advocate the repeal of the Test Oath. The Radical Legislature submitted the question to the people in a constitutional amendment. This was a distinct victory for the Liberals. The Democrats were placed in a very awkward position. What few Democrats there were in the Legislature got together and passed a resolution against placing a State ticket in the field, but favored the nomination of candidates for Congress and the State Legislature. This policy, known as the "Possum Policy," was finally adopted.

The factions in the Radical party drifted rapidly apart. The newspapers and public opinion was heavily on the side of the Liberals and they now demanded that the adoption of the amendment be made a party issue. The Liberals did not want to break up the party but desired to commit it to a policy which they thought essential to its success.

The extreme radical faction composed chiefly of State and federal office holders, opposed the amendment. They still held control of the party organization. The friends of Governor McClurg controlled a majority of the State committee. By manipulating the basis for representation they managed to give the fifty most populous counties 350 delegates while the fifty least populous received 420 delegates. The least populous counties were frontier counties and extremely radical.

Governor McClurg, supported by the Radicals, was a candidate for a second term. B. Gratz Brown was the candidate of the Liberals. The issues of the campaign were well stated by *The Democrat* in an editorial as follows: "The question for the convention is; shall enfranchisement come by the Radical party or in spite of it; shall it come by the whole party moving forward manfully to keep its pledge, or

after a wrangle in local elections, and by Democratic votes? Unite the convention for it and we go through the campaign victorious, carry the State, preserve local power, and maintain Radical rule with enfranchisement. Reject it in the convention, and throw the contest in local elections, divide hopelessly there, get beaten, lose the Legislature, see the rebels enfranchised by Democratic votes, and so get Democratic rule with enfranchisement and see a break up of the Radical Party."¹

When the convention met in Jefferson City there were many contesting delegations. The McClurg faction controlled the party machinery and seated the Radical delegations. The Liberals had a majority on the resolutions committee. The fight between the two factions in the committee delayed the report until the third day of the convention. When the committee was ready to report Senator Schurz read the majority report which was a straightforward endorsement of the amendments and committed the party to their support.

The McClurg faction brought in a minority report which dodged the issue by declaring for enfranchisement as soon as it could be done with safety to the State. The minority resolution was adopted by a vote of 439 2-3 to 342 5-6. As soon as the result of the vote was announced General McNeil led between 250 and 300 delegates from the convention. They went to the Senate chamber where they nominated a complete Liberal Republican State ticket headed by B. Gratz Brown for Governor.

After a bitter and exciting campaign in which Brown and Schurz spoke in every section of the State, the Liberal State ticket was elected by majorities of 40,000 or more. The constitutional amendment repealing the Test Oath was adopted by a vote of 127,643 to 16,283. The other amendments were carried by majorities of more than 100,000. The Democrats obtained a majority in the House, a plurality

¹*Democrat* August 29, 1870, quoted in Barclay's "Rise of Liberal Republican Party in Missouri," to which the author is much indebted for the data of the Civil War period.

in the Senate and a majority in the Legislature on joint ballot. Soon after the defeat of his party in Missouri Chas. D. Drake resigned his position as United States Senator from Missouri to accept a position in the United States Court of Claims. This ended Drake's political activity in Missouri. The Democratic Legislature elected Frank P. Blair to succeed him in the United States Senate. The analysis of *The Democrat* had proved to be correct. The rebels had been enfranchised by the Democratic votes supporting a faction of the Radical party. The Democrats had also obtained control of the Legislature and now felt secure in the support of the voters who had been enfranchised. The Liberals were not able to organize a permanent party. They were dependent upon Democratic support and had no definite policy beyond the amnesty and enfranchisement which had been accomplished. Both Democrats and Liberals were anxious to continue the alliance which had proved so successful in 1870.

The nominating conventions of both parties were held at the same time at Jefferson City. A fusion was arranged in which the Democratic party received the major portion of the offices. The fusion ticket, which was for all practical purposes a Democratic ticket, was elected and the Liberal Republican party passed out of existence.

THE RESTORED DEMOCRACY, 1872-1904.

The Democratic party came into full power in Missouri in 1872. After the general amnesty, the party found it had a majority of about forty thousand in the State. From 1872 until 1904 the Democratic party had full control of the State government, and carried every State election except the minor election of 1894. The party was made up of two distinct groups. One was composed of the men who had been loyal during the Civil War period and had reorganized the party and kept it alive during the reconstruction days. The leaders of this wing of the party were the old Benton Democrats and the Whigs of ante-bellum days. Conspicuous among them were Frank P. Blair and John S. Phelps, of the

first group, and Silas Woodson, James S. Rollins and W. F. Switzler of the second. The other wing of the party was composed of ex-Confederate soldiers and their friends. Francis M. Cockrell, George G. Vest and M. M. Marmaduke were prominent leaders of this section of the party. In the early years after the return of the party to power, the Union Democrats held most of the offices, but in a few years the ex-Confederate group obtained full control of the party. The Whigs were prominent in reconstruction days but received little recognition later.

As soon as the Democratic party got control of the State government, it immediately began the work of reforming the abuses of the reconstruction period. Six amendments to the Drake Constitution had been adopted in 1870. These did away with most, if not all, of the evils of that document. But the Democratic platform had promised a new constitution and the General Assembly, at the general election in 1874, submitted to the people a resolution calling a constitutional convention.

The total vote cast for Governor in this election was 261,670. Of this number 222,315 voted on the question of calling a constitutional convention. The proposition received a majority of only 283. The Governor ordered an election for January 28th to choose the sixty-eight delegates to the convention.

The convention was made up of sixty Democrats, six Republicans and two Liberals. Three subjects loomed large in the minds of the men in the Convention. One was the obnoxious "test oath" and the use of the courts to enforce the penalties for its violation. A second was high taxation. The state tax had reached sixty-two and one-half cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and county, city and school taxes were also high. And the third was bonds. A great many bonds had been issued by counties, cities and townships to aid in railroad construction. Many of these bonds had been obtained under false pretenses and the people received nothing in return for their money. The fraudulent nature of many of these bonds had just become known within a

year or two previous to the meeting of the Convention. The effect of this reconstruction experience is easily seen in the Constitution which the Convention drafted. An extensive bill of rights and a lengthy article on the judiciary curtails very greatly the powers of the courts. Rigid limits of taxation are fixed for every public corporation from State to school district. And a two-thirds vote is made necessary to legalize any bond. With these exceptions and the changes made necessary by the abolition of slavery, the Constitution is very similar to the Constitution of 1820, which was evidently used as a basis for the work of the Convention. The new Constitution was adopted at a special election in which only 105,722 votes were cast, but the majority in favor of it was 76,688.

This period of thirty years of Democratic rule was, with one exception, quiet and peaceful. There was no chance of defeat by the opposition party, and there was no indication of revolt within the party. However, during this period Missouri again took the lead in a nationwide political movement of great importance. As early as 1878 Richard P. Bland, a Missouri Congressman, had become the recognized champion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Bland secured the passage of a free coinage act in the House in 1878, but it was amended by Senator Allison in the Senate so as to destroy the purpose of the measure. Bland continued the agitation of the free coinage of silver. Finally in 1895 in a great Democratic Convention at Pertle Springs, he succeeded in effecting a reorganization of the Democratic State Committee and committing the State organization to his policy. The State committee called the State Convention early in 1896, endorsed free silver as the one great issue upon which the campaign should be fought and proposed Bland as the Democratic candidate for President. The other states of the South and West followed the lead of Missouri and by the time the Chicago National convention met, the party was committed to free silver. But again, as in 1872, a great national party accepted an issue presented by Missouri, but turned down Missouri's candi-

date. Instead of nominating Bland, the logical candidate on the issue of free silver, the convention nominated William J. Bryan. Missouri was true to the cause she had presented and gave Bryan a majority of nearly 60,000, the largest majority ever given by Missouri to a presidential candidate until the election of 1920.

The period 1872 to 1904 was without any political changes, or even incidents of great interest, except the writing of the Constitution of 1875 and the free silver campaign of 1896. The older political leaders, who had seen service in the Civil War, and their followers, controlled the Democratic party, and the Democratic party controlled the State. Towards the later part of the new period new leaders came into prominence. Reforms became popular. New political methods were introduced. A division gradually became apparent in the dominant party. The younger reform element was usually opposed by the older group of politicians, often designated as the "Old Guard." New issues, such as the control of corporate wealth, the fixing of railroad rates, the saloon, vice in politics, accepting of railroad passes, etc., were injected into both the State and national campaigns. The people developed a surprising tendency toward independent voting. In the preconvention campaign of 1904, the younger element of the Democratic party elected a large majority of the delegates. Joseph Folk, a young circuit attorney of St. Louis who had prosecuted a number of city aldermen for corrupt practices, was nominated for governor.

MISSOURI A DOUBTFUL STATE, 1904-1920.

The election of 1904 marks the beginning of a new period in Missouri politics. From 1904 until 1920 there was no dominant man or group of men. Missouri had always been a solid Democratic State with the exception of the abnormal Civil War and reconstruction period. During the period 1904 to 1920 she has been a doubtful State, with a large number of independent voters. Neither party has been able to dominate the State, neither has any man nor group of men been able to control either party.

In the election of 1904, Folk, the Democratic candidate for governor, carried the state by a plurality of 30,100. Yet in the presidential contest the Republican vote for Roosevelt exceeded the Democratic vote for Parker by 25,137. The State offices were divided between Democrats and Republicans. In 1906 the state went Democratic by a plurality varying from 8,660 for Howard A. Gass, Superintendent of Schools, to 14,667 for Rube Oglesby, Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner. In 1908 the Republicans carried the State for Taft for president by a plurality of 629 and for Hadley for governor by 15,879. The other state offices were divided between the two parties. In the election of 1910 the Republican State ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 2,240 to 5,429.

Owing to the division of the Republican party in 1912, the Democratic party easily elected all of the State officers, with pluralities ranging around 120,000. Wilson's plurality over Taft was 124,371, but the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt exceeded that for Wilson by 1,446. The Progressives again put out a State ticket in 1914, and the entire Democratic ticket was elected by pluralities ranging around 50,000, but the total vote cast was about 65,000 below that of 1912. In 1916 the Republican party was united, yet Wilson carried the state by a plurality of 28,693. However, Gardner's plurality over Lamm, his Republican opponent, was only 2,263 and Hackmann, the Republican candidate for state auditor, was elected by a plurality of 9,080.

In the election of 1918, the independence of the Missouri voter was again demonstrated. Only three offices, United States Senator, Superintendent of Public Schools and Judge of the Supreme Court, were to be filled by State-wide ballot. Spencer, the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, carried the state over Folk by a plurality of 35,283. Baker, Republican, was elected State Superintendent of Public Schools by 1,109 votes, while Graves, Democratic candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, secured a plurality of 678. In the election of 1920 the Republican party carried the State by the heaviest majorities in the history of the State.

This last period of Missouri politics may be said to be characterized by independence of thought and action on the part of Missouri voters. No man, no group of men in any party, no political party has, or has had in the past fifteen years, a dominant position in Missouri politics.

In summarizing we may say that the one hundred years of Missouri political history divides itself into four unequal periods. The first may be called the Benton period. It extends from 1820 to the death of Benton in 1858. This period begins with a very bitter fight between Benton and his political and personal enemies. Benton won the fight by one vote and that vote was cast by a dying man whose bed was brought into the legislative hall during the roll call on senator. During the first ten years of the century Benton was becoming dominant as the leader of the Jackson party. For the next fifteen years he held his leadership as a champion of hard money. Finally his leadership was challenged by the younger group of politicians, first on the money question, then on the Texas question, and for the third time on the slavery question. This last contest lasted almost without cessation from 1849 until the death of Benton in 1858.

The second period extends from 1858 to 1872. It may be called the Civil War period. It is characterized by rapid changes. The breaking up and readjustment of political parties, and personal hatreds and violence not found elsewhere in our history. Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown were typical leaders. They changed political friends frequently. The period begins with Blair the unquestioned leader of a small determined group and Brown the editor of the *Democrat* (later the *Globe-Democrat*) and ends with Blair in the United States Senate, the champion of a reunited Democracy, and Brown in the governor's chair, and a candidate for vice-president as a Liberal Republican.

The third period extends from 1872 to 1904 and is very difficult to name. It is a reactionary period in politics and is characterized by the leadership, which in the end became domination, of a group of leaders known as the "Old Guard."

The last period, extending from 1904 to the end of the first century of statehood may be called the period of the independent voter. It is characterized by uncertainty. The one outstanding fact in Missouri politics is that Missouri is a doubtful State. The political landslide of 1920 does not indicate continued Republican supremacy, but the independence of the Missouri voter and especially the women voters.

A Model Centennial Program for Local Celebrations.

BY E. M. VIOLETTE.

I have been asked to make some suggestions regarding the program for local centennial celebrations. Several things need to be considered briefly in addition to the content of the program.

First of all is the matter of the date of the celebration. From the historical point of view August 10th is the most appropriate time for holding the celebration. Missouri was admitted as a State into the Union on August 10, 1821, and in the very nature of things the celebration that commemorates that event would most fittingly come on its one hundredth anniversary. But no community should feel bound to hold its celebration on that particular day. Local conditions may make some other day decidedly more convenient. The important thing is for each community in the State to hold a celebration at some time during the year 1921, and the date for the celebration might just as well come before or after August 10th as on that day.

August is usually a very warm and dry month, and for that reason objections may be made to holding celebrations during that month. But on the other hand there is no month in the year when the weather is more stable than August. Moreover people will attend affairs when it is hot and dusty more readily than when it is rainy. Even a little rain will keep many a person away from celebrations and gatherings, especially in these days of automobiles. But hot weather seldom deters people from going to circuses or Fourth of July celebrations. Moreover much of the farm work that requires constant attention is over by August. Hence there are more reasons for holding the centennial in August than there are against it.

In the second place there is the question of the number of days to be devoted to the celebration. Some communities may find it possible and desirable to prolong their celebrations through several days. Palmyra held a five day celebration in 1919 in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of her founding. But from the reports that have come from that celebration it appears that while a very successful affair, it would have been more satisfactory if it had been confined to two or three days instead of being strung out through five days.

In all probability the most successful celebrations will be those that are one day or at most two day affairs. In view of that fact I am recommending a program that will occupy two evenings and the day intervening, virtually a one day program, and the suggestions that follow will be based upon that plan.

For the first evening I would suggest what might be called a historical album or historical art gallery. The historical album could be arranged by erecting on a great open air platform a frame to represent a page in an old fashioned photograph album with the front cover hinged so as to open on the side. Within this frame certain individuals would be posed to represent prominent historical characters in the State and the community. For example some one would be chosen to represent Thomas Hart Benton. He would be posed in the frame and then the cover would be turned back. While the picture is being exposed to view to the people seated in front of the platform, some one standing near the frame could give a brief sketch of Benton. The album would then be closed and some one else would be posed to represent another historical character. Instead of the frame being built to represent an album, it might be constructed so as to suggest a great picture frame, in front of which would be hung a curtain. As the characters are posed the curtain would be drawn back and the description given as in the case of the album. Besides historical characters, tableaux of various historical incidents and scenes might be given.

In addition to the historical album or art gallery brief addresses might also be given during the first evening as well as choruses and community singing.

For the next morning I would suggest as the chief feature either a great exhibition of historical relics and of things representing the growth and development of the State, or a procession of floats. The exhibits could be arranged in booths on the main streets of the business portion of the town, and if they are properly classified and grouped they will prove very interesting and instructive. There are very few counties in the State where it would be difficult to get together a collection of historical relics that would reveal the conditions of the past. For example spinning wheels, wool cards, yarn reels, flax hackles and a loom might be brought together and put into one booth to represent the old time processes of spinning and weaving. This exhibit would be all the more interesting if some one who could operate these implements would give frequent demonstrations and show how they work. In another booth there might be brought together pieces of old furniture and household furnishings, and in another old garments representing the styles of generations ago. Some of the booths might be devoted to demonstrations of our industrial development. For example, old farming implements might be collected and placed along side of the latest including the tractor. Suggestions of this sort might be repeated at length but these are doubtless sufficient to convey the idea.

However if historical exhibits are not deemed feasible, then a procession of floats might be arranged for. By means of these floats many phases of the growth of the State and the community might be presented.

There is however a decided advantage in favor of the exhibits in booths as compared with the procession. The exhibits can be studied at leisure by the people who visit the booths, while whatever is shown on the floats can be seen for the moment and then usually at some distance away. Moreover a procession of floats is very expensive if well carried out.

Of course there should be plenty of band music during the morning, no matter what may be the chief feature. Band music serves not only to enliven the occasion, but it draws the people to the place where things are going on and holds them there.

At noon there might be a big basket dinner if a suitable grove is convenient.

In the afternoon there should be a few short addresses touching upon the history of the State and the needs of the hour. There should be also talks by old pioneers which would recall their early days in the State. There might well be chorus music and other numbers of a musical or literary character. In some communities contests of various kinds might be arranged for and held after the speaking and music are over.

The centennial celebration should be marked by the unveiling of historical tablets or monuments in these communities in which events of special local importance have occurred. As yet we have not done very much in Missouri in the way of erecting historical tablets or markers. As a result many noteworthy events in our history are fading from the memory of the communities of our State. It is time we were beginning to perpetuate the recollection of these events in bronze and granite. Especially fitting would it be for every community that holds a centennial celebration to include in its program the unveiling of a memorial tablet of bronze, or a monument, or the dedication of a community house in honor of the boys of that community who gave their lives in the recent war. The position of this event on the program would depend upon the location of the tablet, monument or house. If the site is far removed from the place where the exhibition is held or where the addresses of the day are given, the unveiling or the dedication should occur late in the day so as to avoid drawing off the crowd from the other parts of the program. Those in charge of the program should do their best to keep the crowd together. When a crowd is once separated, it is very difficult to get it together for the purpose of resuming the program.

As the closing event of the celebration I would suggest a pageant of Missouri for the second evening. This affords opportunity not only for dramatic performance through which many of the important events in the history of the state can be depicted, but also for drills and dancing through which the spirit of Missouri can be artistically presented. The pageant should be of such a character as to bring the centennial celebration to a close in a great climax.

A few words might be said about the preparation necessary for the successful execution of such a program as has just been laid out.

In the first place an organization should be effected at once in every community that is contemplating holding a centennial celebration. In some communities some patriotic organization, such as the D. A. R. or the American Legion, might well assume the task of getting the matter under way at least. In other communities the commercial club might be the proper organization to direct the matter from beginning to end. In many places local historical societies might be organized for the special purpose of arranging for and carrying out the centennial celebration, and with a view of becoming permanent organizations after the celebration is over. In several counties in the State local historical societies were organized in 1916 and 1917 at the suggestion of the State Historical Society for the purpose of preparing for the centennial celebration in 1921. How far the war has sidetracked the original purpose of these societies is not known, but if they are still alive they are properly the organizations to carry on the local celebration.

But whatever organization undertakes to arrange for and carry on a celebration, the work should begin at once. The first thing to be done is the appointment of committees for the different features of the program. There should be, for example, a special committee on the historical album or art gallery, whose only duty would be to provide for that particular part of the program. Another committee should be appointed for the historical exhibits or for the procession of floats, another on speakers, another on historical markers

or monuments, and still another on the pageant. In addition there should be such other committees as those on finance, publicity and decoration of streets. These various committees should be appointed by and held responsible to a small committee known as the executive committee, who should have general oversight of the whole matter.

The committee on finance is necessarily one of the most important committees. Upon it will devolve the task of raising the funds that will be needed for the celebration. Through the executive committee it should find out how much will be needed and then bend all its energies towards getting what is wanted.

The publicity committee should keep the public informed from time to time as to the plans that are being made and the progress that is being made in the prosecution of those plans. It should also undertake to publish popular articles in the local newspapers on the history of the State. Unfortunately the people of Missouri do not know their history as they should, and they will not get into the spirit of the celebration if they do not get at least a smattering of Missouri history through the publicity committee.

The committees that have charge of the historical album, the exhibits or floats and the pageant should begin at once to make preparation for the events that have been assigned to them. For example, the committee that has charge of the album needs first of all to make a selection of the characters to be represented and the assignment of these characters to those who will represent them. Necessarily the committee will have to study State and local history and biography as they have never studied it before. The committee in charge of the exhibits will have to work in and out of season locating and listing historical relics and the like. This task should really be divided between several subcommittees, each of which could be made responsible for a particular kind of exhibit. The committee in charge of the floats would need to do a great deal of preliminary planning, involving the selection of the subjects to be presented and the assignment of the parts.

Perhaps the pageant will involve the greatest amount of preparation and cooperation. Each community should strive to produce a pageant that will be somewhat different from the pageant of other communities. Suggestions may be obtained from the books of the pageants of Missouri that have been given in the last ten or twelve years. The book of the pageant in St. Louis could be obtained in the department stores of that city a few years ago and possibly can be obtained there yet. The book of the pageant presented by the students of the Kirksville State Teachers College in 1916 may be obtained without charge by applying to Miss Lois Drake, Secretary of the college, and the book of the one given in Columbia in March, 1920 may be obtained without charge by addressing Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia, Missouri.

Very few communities would find it desirable or feasible to reproduce *in toto* any one of these pageants. But some communities will likely find certain parts of them that can be easily adapted to fit their own schemes and plans. Special effort should be made to introduce something of local interest into the pageant of each community.

For the benefit of all those who will need to read up on Missouri history in preparing for the various phases of the celebration, the following list of easily available books that will be of greatest assistance is given: Rader—*History and Government of Missouri*; Loeb and Viles—*History and Government of Missouri*; Carr—*Missouri*; Violette—*History of Missouri*; Shoemaker—*Missouri's Hall of Fame*. Mention should also be made of Houck's *History of Missouri* up to 1821, 3 volumes, and Shoemaker's *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*. These two books are the great authorities on the subject with which they deal.

In conclusion may I urge that those in charge of the program make special attempts to enlist the support and cooperation of all elements in the community. The purpose of the celebration should be to educate the people in the history of the State and to quicken their interest in her wel-

fare. This can not be realized unless all classes are led to take an interest in the celebration, and the surest way to get this interest is to get all classes to take part in it. The celebration should be a community affair in every sense of the word. And unless it is, it will fall short of its great purpose.

One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri 1820-1920*

BY BRECKINRIDGE JONES.

FOREWORD

To have a fair comprehension of the Bank of St. Louis and the Bank of Missouri, the two banks that existed in Missouri before the adoption of the State's first constitution, and to appreciate the provisions of that constitution as to banks, one must be put somewhat in the economic atmosphere of that period. The local events were so largely influenced by the general situation that a few pages are devoted to it.

It has been said that history is only philosophy teaching by examples, and may possibly, teach by small as well as by large ones, and that observation of the curious habits of small insects has thrown its light upon science as much as the dissection of the elephant.

The writer has attempted to go to original sources for the facts stated in this paper, and in the footnotes to give the authority for the statements made. At the risk of being tiresome to many readers, he has attempted, in order to make the paper, in a way, a history of the early banking in the State, to set out many apparently immaterial facts, leaving the thoughtful reader, in the main, to make his own application of the lessons to be derived from the facts.

That the work here presented has been done only at such odd times as the writer could find free from the exactions of a current active business life, is his apology for its many defects.

Thanks are unsparingly given to Mr. Walter B. Stevens for many suggestions and for the original stimulus that led to the work, and to Miss Stella M. Drumm, the capable and earnest librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at

St. Louis for her valuable help, and to my daughter, Miss Frances Reid Jones, for laborious search of the newspaper files.

CHAPTER ONE.

BANKING IN MISSOURI UP TO THE ADOPTION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION IN 1820.

The First Bank of the United States, proposed by Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury, was authorized by Congress February 25, 1791, the charter to expire March 4, 1811. In the opinion of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury at the time of the expiration, the bank, considered as a moneyed institution, had been wisely and skillfully managed.

The renewal of the charter was lost by the casting vote of the Vice-President, George Clinton, in the Senate, and by one vote in the House. Seven million dollars of the bank's ten million capital was owned abroad, and specie to that amount had to be remitted out of the country during the year that preceded the war of 1812.¹

The re-charter was strenuously opposed on constitutional grounds, it being contended, notwithstanding the fact that the bank had been in operation for nearly twenty years under an act of Congress, that Congress had no power under the constitution to incorporate a bank. The opponents of the re-charter believed that the State banks would be adequate to the fiscal requirements of the government and to the monetary necessities of trade and industry. The creation of new State banks, in order to fill the chasm, was a natural consequence of the dissolution of the Bank of the United States. From January 1, 1811, to January 1, 1815, not less than one hundred and twenty new banks were chartered and went into operation, making an addition of nearly thirty millions to the banking capital of the country. One of the

¹*U. S. Comptroller's Report*, 1876, pp. IX and XXXIII.

new banks authorized was the Bank of St. Louis, under an act of August 21, 1813, of the Territorial Legislature, as will later be explained.

Mr. Gallatin reported:²

Year.	1811	1815	1816	1820
Number of State Banks.....	88	208	246	307
Circulation.....	\$22,700,000		\$68,000,000	
	\$45,500,000		\$40,641,574	

While Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report on the Currency made to Congress in February, 1820, estimated:³

Year.	1813	1815	1817-18	1819
Circulation:	\$62,000,000	\$99,000,000		\$45,000,000
	to	to		to
	\$70,000,000	\$110,000,000		\$53,000,000
		(Not convert- ible into specie)	Including U. S. Bank.	

Banking

Capital: \$65,000,000 \$88,185,823 \$125,000,000 72,340,770

In 1814, the war being on, all of the banks, which were south of New England, suspended specie payments. The check of the redemption of their notes being removed, an expansion of their issues followed.⁴ Nearly 100 of them in different sections of the country had been, of necessity, in the absence of a National Bank, selected as depositaries of Government funds. In that year Treasury funds to the amount of nearly nine million dollars were in such suspended banks.⁵ Such was the tightness of money that on March 3, 1815, the Government sold \$9,745,745 of its nine months six per cent paper at nearly five per cent discount, making the money cost the Government over twelve per cent, and that money so received for the loans was at a heavy discount

²*Ibid.*, XL.

³*Elliott's Funding System*, pp. 735-737

⁴*Comptroller's Report*, 1876, p. IX.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. X.

for specie. The depreciation in the local currency at the close of the war (1815) ranging from twenty to twenty-five per cent.⁶

The Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser, published in St. Louis, had items from time to time as to reducing the quantity of paper money, April 30, 1815; about excessive banking and the evils of a litter of banks in Pennsylvania, January 13, 1816; a two column extract from a letter in England to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the depreciation of American paper money, and warning against paper money as a fictitious medium, May 25, 1816.⁷

From time to time there were warnings and news items in the local newspaper as to counterfeit bank notes⁸; report of a Committee of bankers in Cincinnati and other places as to spurious bank paper, and a notice from the Bank of Cincinnati as to forgeries with names given,⁹ *Niles Register*, the leading financial paper of that time, over and over again, contained voluminous articles on wildcat bank notes and counterfeiting.

Such were some of the results of the State Bank system during the period that followed the expiration of the charter of the First United States Bank on March 4, 1811, and the going into operation of the Second United States Bank on January 7, 1817.

This was the worst state of the monetary troubles, which began with the suspension of specie payments in 1814, and continued until the general crash of 1819-1820, at which time lands and agricultural products had fallen to one-half of the prices which were readily obtainable in 1808-10, and to one-third the value they possessed when the excessive indebtedness of the people was incurred; namely, during the inflation

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Files of the *Missouri Gazette* are preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

⁸*Missouri Gazette*, April 1, 1815; Feb. 3, 1816.

⁹*Ibid.*, June 29, 1816; "Beware of Mutilated Notes," *Ibid.*, July 13, 1816.

years of the State Banks. The contraction of the circulation and the general failures of the State Banks began in 1818. As we have seen above, the contraction was from \$68,000,000 in 1816 to \$40,641,574 in 1820, or as Secretary Crawford put it, from \$99,000,000 to \$110,000,000. In 1815 down to \$45,000,000; to \$53,000,000 in 1819.¹⁰ While the banking capital increased from \$65,000,000 in 1813 to \$125,000,000 in 1817 and 1818, and was reduced to about \$72,000,000 in 1819, the financial affairs of the country were in a wretched condition in 1819. The currency was greatly depreciated; very many failures of State Banks, corporations and individuals had occurred. The country had not recovered from the exhausting effects of the late war.

Senator Benton, in a speech in the Senate said, "I was elected to this body in the year 1820, when the hollow and delusive paper system was undergoing one of its habitual and disastrous convulsions; and when my progress to this place—my journey from the Mississippi to the Potomac—was one long ride amidst the crashings and explosions of banks, and the cries and lamentations of a deceived and plundered people. The National Bank was then in the third year of its age; and so far from affording a remedy for the evils, it was itself the mother of the evils, and notoriously bankrupt, except for the credit and revenues of the United States, which were lent and extended to save it."¹¹

Necessary to a comprehension of the general financial and economic conditions in this country is, at least, a reference to affairs in England. The Napoleonic wars had brought about a suspension of specie payments there from 1797 to 1821, so that, during that period England was afflicted with the evils of an inconvertible currency. Pandora's box was open. England's Bank Notes were at a discount of about 13% in 1810; 20% in 1812; 25% in 1814; 16% in 1816, and then from 4% to 2% until they went back to par with the resumption of specie payments. Commodity prices advanced

¹⁰Comptroller's Report, 1876, p. 11.

¹¹Meigs' *Life of Benton*, p. 126.

until in 1814 they were about 70% above those of the pre-war period. In 1810 a Committee of Parliament had made what is known as the "Bullion Report"—an exhaustive study of the whole question of paper money and recognized as a fundamental in all subsequent economic studies. Parliament did not adopt the report, and after Pitt's death, there was the great inflation that led to the depreciation of the paper money and the inflation of commodity prices just mentioned. The year 1819 was a period of great financial and industrial depression, not only in England, but generally in Europe.¹² England's accumulating gold, in order to resume specie payment, drained gold from this country, and it has been claimed was one of the prime causes of the panic of 1819-20 here.

When General Duff Green, a very prominent Missourian of that generation, and who will be mentioned frequently in this paper, years after visited London on a mission for the United States, he records:

"We did not then realize, nor did I do so until long thereafter, that the Bank of the United States—and indeed the whole banking system of the United States—was but a part, and the weaker part of the financial system, which, as then organized, enabled England at will to carry into effect her own projects in Europe. The specie which the Bank of the United States then took from the Southern and Western Banks was remitted through the agency of our commerce to London, to aid the Bank of England to resume specie payments. The effect was to reduce the exchangeable value of land and other western property more than one-half—the Government of the United States compelling the purchasers of public land, from whom unpaid instalments were due under the then existing system of land sales, to relinquish their purchases, for which they were unable to make payment, at a loss of more than fifty per cent. on the same previously paid."¹³

On February 24, 1820, Secretary of the Treasury Crawford communicated to the House of Representatives an elaborate and fundamental discussion of the Currency.¹⁴

¹²See Sumner's *History of American Currency*, where in the Appendix is a copy of the Bullion Report; *Industrial Depressions* by Hull, and *English Public Finance*, one of the Bankers Trust Company publications, pp 186, ff.

¹³See *Facts and Suggestions* by Duff Green, 1866, p. 81, in *Library of Missouri Historical Society*.

¹⁴*American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, pp. 494 to 508.

A few extracts are quoted here because the principles enunciated have been applicable so often since and merit careful attention in this year of grace one hundred years later.

"All intelligent writers on currency agree that where it is decreasing in amount, poverty and misery must prevail. The correctness of the opinion is too manifest to require proof. The united voice of the nation attests its accuracy, and there is no recorded example in the history of nations of a reduction of the currency so rapid and so extensive (about 59% in four years), so but few examples have occurred of distress so general and so severe as that which has been exhibited in the United States. To the evils of a decreasing currency are superadded that of a deficient currency. But notwithstanding it is deficient, it is still depreciated.

"The contraction was such as to produce much distress, check the ardor of enterprise, and seriously to affect the productive energies of the people. In 1818 articles of American production had fallen nearly 50% in foreign markets. When a merchant needed additional loans to sustain him against the losses he had incurred by the sudden reduction in price of the commodities he had exported, he was called upon to discharge loans previously contracted. The farmer saw his income below his necessities, and a manufacturer with foreign competition saw his output reduced by the incapacity of his customers to buy. All classes had lines of credit cut down, and in addition, were called to pay if they had discounts out.

"After the currency shall be reduced to the amount, which, when the present quantity of the precious metals is distributed among the various nations of the world in proportion to their respective exchangeable values, shall be assigned to the United States, when time shall have regulated the price of labor and commodities, according to that amount, and when existing engagements shall have been adjusted, the sufferings from a depreciated, decreasing and deficient currency will be terminated.

"But there can be no doubt that a sudden increase in the currency during periods of prosperity, through the agency of bank issues, gives additional force and activity to natural enterprise. Such an increase will be followed by a general rise in the value of all articles, especially of those which cannot be exported. The price of lands, houses, and public stock will be augmented in a greater degree than if no such increase had taken place.

"But the expansion of the currency, by the issue of paper, in a period of prosperity, will inevitably be succeeded by a contraction in a period of adversity."

FIRST BANK IN MISSOURI—BANK OF ST. LOUIS—1813.

By an act of the territorial legislature, approved August 21, 1813,¹⁵ the incorporation of the Bank of St. Louis was authorized with capital of at least \$75,000, and not to exceed \$150,000, in shares of \$100 each, exclusive of any shares which might be subscribed on the part of the Territory of Missouri. Non-resident stockholders were prohibited from voting on their shares, and not more than one-fourth of the the stock could be held outside of Missouri and Illinois. Directors who authorized the bank to owe, whether by bond, bill, note or other contract, in excess of double the amount of paid-in capital, made themselves personally liable. Specie payment was not required either in paying for the capital stock or for redemption of the notes. The directors were authorized to demand from stockholders "all such sums of money by them subscribed." Six per cent interest in advance was fixed as the limit of interest on any loan or discount. Branches for deposit and discount only were authorized at Ste. Genevieve and elsewhere in Missouri, but not within fifty miles of the parent bank at St. Louis, or of each other. No reports of any kind were required; no examinations were provided for, and there was no prohibition against the banks making loans on its own stock as collateral. Commissioners were appointed to open books for subscription to capital stock, as follows: Auguste Chouteau, John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, Moses Austin, Bernard Pratte, Manuel Lisa, Thomas Brady, Bartholomew Berthold, Samuel Hammond, Rufus Easton, Robert Simpson, Christian Wilt, and Risdon H. Price. On Sept. 20, 1813, it was announced that subscriptions had failed. On November 6, 1813, Christian Wilt, one of the commissioners, wrote his brother, "Penrose tells me the legislature will alter the charter this session to permit the bank to receive lead and peltries as deposits."¹⁶ On Dec. 15, 1814, the books were again opened for subscriptions to \$100,000 capital.¹⁷

¹⁵*Territorial Laws of Mo.*, Vol. 1, p. 278.

¹⁶See Volume his letters in *Mo. Hist. Society*.

¹⁷*Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, January 7 and 20, 1815.

SAMUEL HAMMOND



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July 11, 1816, sufficient stock had been subscribed.¹⁸ The bank was incorporated August 21, 1816, three years after it was authorized. The Act of Incorporation (S.12) had provided there could be no forfeiture for non-user before second Monday in December, 1817. On Sept. 2, 1816, thirteen directors were elected as follows: Samuel Hammond, William Rector, Bernard Pratte, Risdon H. Price, Moses Austin, Col. Eli B. Clempson, Theodore Hunt, Justus Post, Robert Simpson, Charles N. Hunter, Walter Wilkinson, Theophilus W. Smith and Elias Bates.

No list of the stockholders has been found. A list of the votes for the several directors is given in the newspaper of Sept. 7, 1816. Samuel Hammond received the highest, 809 votes. Under the law creating the bank (S.13) stockholders had: one vote for each share owned up to ten shares; one vote for each five shares owned over ten and up to thirty; and one vote for each ten shares owned over thirty, but no one could have more than seventeen votes. So with 809 votes, it is evident that a very large majority of the stockholders must have owned ten or less shares.

On September 20th, Samuel Hammond was elected President and John B. N. Smith, Cashier.¹⁹ On September 21st, notice was published that an instalment of \$15.00 on each share in gold, silver, or gold and approved bank paper (Kentucky, Tennessee, Cincinnati, Vincennes, Richmond or such other bank paper as is received by the U. S. in payment for land and taxes) must be paid November 22nd.

On November 23rd, notice was published that the bank would be open for business December 2nd, but the opening actually took place on December 13th. The location of the bank was in a building located at 58 South Main Street and was in a building immediately back of Riddick and

¹⁸July 13, 1816—1349 shares.

¹⁹A most interesting historical pamphlet concerning Samuel Hammond, brilliant soldier in the Revolution, Congressman from Georgia, first resident Governor of the District of St. Louis, under appointment by Thomas Jefferson, has been written by Miss Stella M. Drumm, the accomplished librarian of the Missouri Historical Society. See that Society's Collection, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1920.

Pilchers store.²⁰ On Aug. 7, 1817, the Bank of St. Louis purchased the old stone house east side of Main, between Elm and Myrtle, which they fixed up for their banking house, tearing down the old stone front and putting up a new brick front.²¹ A second instalment of \$10.00 on each share "\$5 in specie" was called to be paid December 24th.²²

Ten dollars per share having been called, 60 days' notice was published of further calls of \$5.00 each, on March 5th, June 5th and first Monday in August, 1817. On May 10th, the books were open for sale of stock. On June 28th, the whole of the capital had been subscribed, a call was made for the remaining 60% to be paid September 18th, and, announcement was published that a dividend of 8% per annum on the stock would be paid after July 15th.²³

In the Missouri Historical Society collection is a photograph of one of the notes or bills of the bank. The bill was No. 45, for one dollar, dated February 13, 1817, payable on demand to— or bearer. The vignette in the bill was a cannon with an eagle perched on it. The authenticity of the statement, sometimes made, that the first bills of the bank had the picture of a beaver on them, and were called "Beaver Bills," is established by the accompanying photograph of the bill showing the beaver trapped.*

Society and business had not become organized. Many of the newcomers were adventurers. Most of the pioneers had left their homes before they had become trained in business. They were free from the restraints of family tradition and had no business prestige to sustain. There was no extensive trade, no manufacture, and no general punctuality in the payment of debts. All supplies except meat and bread-stuffs and a few articles of household production were imported. All imports had to be brought from New Orleans in keel-boats, towed with ropes or pushed by poles up the current of the Mississippi, or else wagoned across the moun-

²⁰*Mo. Gaz.*, Nov. 30, 1816.

²¹*Billion's Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days*, p. 86.

²²*Mo. Gaz.*, Dec. 7 and 14.

²³*Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 25th, March 22nd, May 10th, and June 20th, 1817.

*See Hyde and Conrad's *History of St. Louis*, Vol. 1, p. 75.

tains from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and from there floated down the Ohio to its mouth in keel-boats, and from there shoved, pushed or towed up the Mississippi as from New Orleans. There was exported little or nothing except furs. Before the war, such a thing as money was scarcely ever seen in the country, the skins of deer and raccoon supplying the place of a circulating medium.²⁴

The actual money that was brought in by the immigrants drifted into the land offices and thence into the U. S. Treasury and was for disbursement mainly in the Eastern States. Goods that were purchased in the East had to be paid for in money as most of the exports went down the river. No record has been found of New Orleans paying for their exports by drafts on New York or Philadelphia. In 1818 Stephen R. Wiggins established the first advertised brokerage and exchange office in St. Louis,²⁵ but from his advertisement it seems his business was dealing in the depreciated paper money. The notes of the various banks were handled at varying discounts. Some of the notes were of banks that paid in specie, some were not. Some were of banks that were in existence, some of banks that had failed. Some were of banks that had never existed, and some were counterfeits of the divers issues.²⁶

In the colonial days, Missouri did business with silver coin called "hard money," and with another and more general form of currency called "fur money." Debts were paid in lead, peltry and salt, and sometimes in other commodities. Witness the following which is a copy and translation of a genuine document:

²⁴Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 43.

²⁵Mo. Gazette, Jan. 9, 1818.

²⁶Niles Register, Vol. 26; Knox's *History of Banking and the U. S. Comptroller's Report of 1876* give much of the history of the note issues of that time. See also *A history of banking and currency in Ohio before the Civil War*, pages 295 and 345 of *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, July, 1915, and *The Development of Banking in Illinois 1817-1863*, by Dowric, published by University of Illinois in 1918.

"Bon pour six livre de Barbue a St. Louis eo 25
7 bre 1799. Antoine Roy."

Translation: "Good for six pounds of Catfish, at St. Louis, the
25th of September, 1799."²⁷

The value of furs brought into St. Louis was estimated in livres. No livres actually passed but the furs of beaver, deer, buffalo and others were estimated in value and the values were carried on the books. For example, the trapper took his pelts to the company warehouse. The bundle was weighed. For each kind of furs there was a value per pound expressed in livres. This value was entered to the credit of the seller. Against that credit the trapper could trade or buy. This was not the form of barter practiced by colonists on the Atlantic border. It was cash without coin or paper. It was banking in the earliest form known to Missouri. When Judge J. B. C. Lucas bought his first piece of real estate in St. Louis, the price was given as "six hundred dollars in deerskins." Silver money was scarce. To obtain small denominations, a Spanish or Mexican dollar was put upon a block of wood and tapped with a chisel to cut it into four pieces. This made quarters. The quarters were tapped in halves and that made "bits."

For a long time the bit, which amounted to $12\frac{1}{2}c$ in silver, was the lowest denomination of money in St. Louis. If a customer bought less than a bit's worth, he got his change in the form of pins or needles or sheets of paper.

Banking with packs of furs for deposits did fairly well for local business. When it came to settlements of accounts between St. Louis and New Orleans, or other centers at a distance, the need of some form of draft was felt. Receipts were taken for considerable quantities of fur; these receipts stated the weight and value of the furs. These receipts were sent from city to city. They bore the signatures of those who held the furs on deposit. As they passed from hand to hand they were endorsed. The common name for these receipts, which took the place of what were later called drafts or bills of exchange, was "bons," i. e. good for the furs described.

²⁷Report of the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of St. Louis on the 15th day of February, A. D. 1847. St. Louis, Chambers & Knapp, 1847.

The furs, which were exported, had to be shipped by boat to New Orleans, or via Pittsburgh to Philadelphia or via the Great Lakes to Detroit or Montreal. For such shipments drafts were drawn, and these drafts, or their proceeds, were used in paying for the articles imported. On April 30, 1815, the Government Agent at St. Louis received a letter authorizing him to draw for one hundred thousand dollars. He was obliged to go to Kentucky where there were the nearest banks to negotiate his drafts.²⁸ There was practically no surplus capital. There were no men trained in banking. It was inevitable that improvident loans would be made and that a bank would have great difficulty in collecting debts due to it. Banks cannot succeed except where there is enough consumable articles or circulating commodities to enable a borrower to fairly estimate when he can turn his stock into money and meet his debt to the bank. Punctuality in paying debts and commercial honor are the outgrowth of established trade, and are largely among the educational results of the successful operations of banks. To enable a bank to succeed there must be laws favorable to the enforced collection of debts, and public sentiment must have produced a habit of prompt payment. As a merchant, in order to succeed must turn over his stock several times in a year, so a bank to properly serve its community and to so distribute its favors as to build up a varied line of customers, several times in each year must collect a great part of its outstanding loans and make new loans.

The general condition of affairs had delayed subscriptions to the stock of the bank. The war had disturbed the orderly development of the territory's growth. The farmers and others had turned out in defense of their country, armed, furnished and equipped themselves at their own expense for one whole year's service. During the war they did not receive regular compensation, and after having waited fifteen months without receiving the first certificate from the Government, a lot of them had taken goods from the merchants, (Price or McNight & Brady and Lindell) and had assigned

²⁸Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser, August 3, 1816.

their claims. In the early summer of 1816, it was believed the Government owed some four hundred thousand dollars or more to the rangers and militia of Missouri, and it was anticipated that some arrangement would be made soon to make payment thereof. It was intimated at the time that it was the anticipation of the payment of these claims that led the "Rag Barons," as the organizers of the bank were termed, to hasten the starting of the bank. The rangers feared they would be paid the paper or "rag money" of "a bank not chartered and without funds."²⁹

During this period of delay in filling the subscription of the Bank of St. Louis, there was much discussion as to chartering a second Bank of the United States. In 1814 there was before Congress a bill to establish a National Bank with branches in every state but not in the territories. On motion of Col. Rufus Easton, the delegate from this territory, territories were included and names of commissioners to receive subscriptions at St. Louis were given, but a further amendment proposed by him that whenever \$100,000 had been subscribed by persons residing in our territory a branch would be established here, was decided in the negative, and the bill to incorporate the bank failed.³⁰ In April, 1816, the bill for the Second Bank of the United States was passed,³¹ with no provision for a branch in a territory. The bill passed the house by a majority of only seven votes.³²

On April 6, 1816, in Congress, Mr. Calhoun, from a committee on National Currency, reported a bill providing that after December 31st, following notes of banks, which did not by that time pay specie, should not be received in payments of debts due the United States, and imposed a stamp tax of practically 10% on their notes.³³ This bill,

²⁹See letter of Aug. 8, 1816 from John Lindsey to Douglas Deputy paymaster, *Mo. Gazette*, Aug. 24th, and letter of Aug. 14th, signed "Jack Upstart" in issue of Sept. 7th, and another letter from John Lindsey in issue of Sept. 28th. See letter signed "No Rag Baron" in issue of Nov. 27, 1818.

³⁰See *Mo. Gazette*, April 13, 1816.

³¹See *Ibid.*, April 20th and May 11th as to Congressmen dodging the vote.

³²*Ibid.*, April 6.

³³*Ibid.*, April 13th.

after an arduous discussion, was rejected by one vote, only 119 members voting out of 180.³⁴ This was the forerunner of the tax of 10% put on the issues of State Banks during the Civil War.

To what extent these matters affected the delay in proceeding with putting into operation the Bank of St. Louis can be conjectured; but, the fact is, that the delay had continued for nearly three years, and shortly thereafter sufficient stock was subscribed to enable the bank to proceed. It is noted that subscription to the thirty five millions stock for the Second United States Bank was not completed until in the fall of that year, and that to complete it Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, subscribed for three million dollars of it.³⁵

WILDCAT CERTIFICATES AS CURRENCY, 1816.

On December 23, 1816,³⁶ there was approved "an act to encourage the killing of wolves, panthers and wildcats." It authorized a reward of two dollars for killing a wolf or a panther, and fifty cents for killing a wildcat, to be paid out of the county treasury in which the animal had been killed. A justice of the peace was to destroy the scalps and "issue a certificate on the county treasury for the same." The form for the certificate was prescribed and said "the Treasurer of the County is hereby directed to pay the same to C. D. or bearer" and was made a legal tender for any county taxes and should be so received by the sheriff. These "wildcat" certificates came to be used as currency and led to the name of "wildcat" being given to other kinds of currency that were not redeemable in specie, and being specially applied to the bills of the non-specie paying banks in the adjoining territories.³⁷

³⁴*Ibid.*, June 1st.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1816. In Dec., 1815, the estimated population of St. Louis county was 7,395—an increase of 1200 in two years, and of the town of St. Louis, 2,000. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1815.

³⁶*Territorial Laws*, Vol. 1, p. 496.

³⁷The "wildcat certificates" in one form or another, and with varied changes in legislation continued in use and were the cause of much discussion, until in 1851 the Governor was directed to have all the outstanding certificates burned, *Acts* 1851, p. 731.

The putting into circulation of the bank's notes, together with the notes of the Bank of Missouri, mentioned later, and the use of "wildcats," caused a prompt inflation of values. The history of the excessive issue and use of wild-cat currency, during the period under consideration, in most of the states east of the Mississippi River, would require a separate article. To have in mind the fact of such excessive issue and use is necessary to a fair comprehension of financial atmosphere at that time in Missouri. One historian, writing of the result of the liberal issue of bills by the Bank of St. Louis, used a sentence bankers of today should remember, to-wit:

"It is a law of nature that the greater the flood, the greater the ebb, and the tide of business, when it swells and inflates to an excessive magnitude, will have its hour of collapse and shrink into contracted boundaries. The sudden influx of money poured out by the new bank gave an unnatural expansion to commercial affairs, created a spirit of speculation and extravagance, and jeopardized everything by the dangerous momentum it gave."³⁸

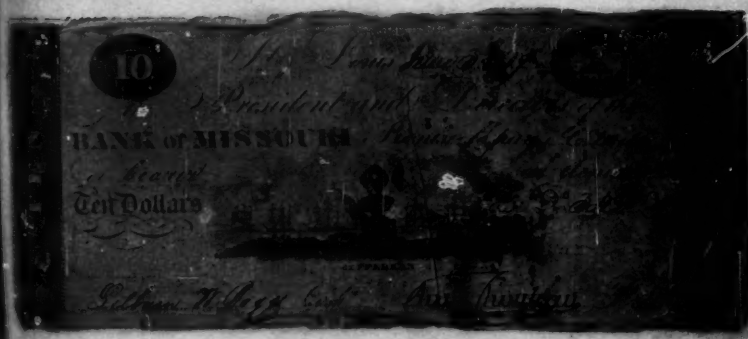
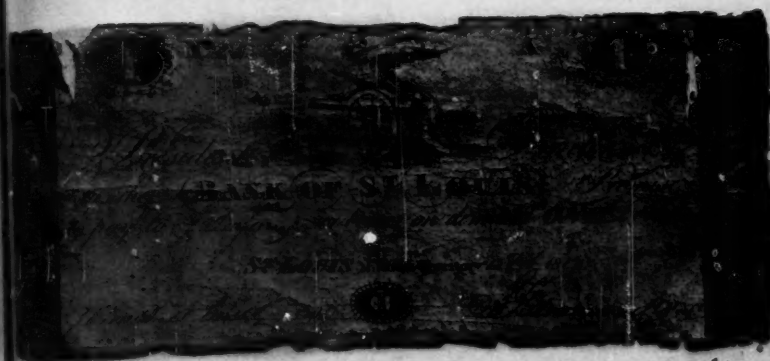
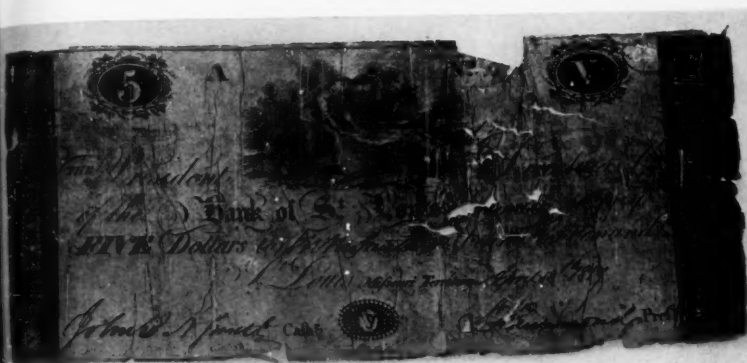
It appears that the Bank of St. Louis was in trouble before more than forty per cent of its stock was paid in.³⁹

Samuel Hammond, the president, states that the cashier, John B. N. Smith, without the knowledge of the bank, purchased a number of bills to a vast amount and paid for them, that the cost of them could be replaced only by bills on banks in Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania; that the Board determined to buy no more bills; but, the cashier, secretly, in defiance of the Board, continued to buy, and arranged his plans when he went to Kentucky in October, 1817, so that on November 3rd he drew bills to an immense amount in favor of certain of his co-partners and sold them, and the bank did not get the proceeds; that the bills were signed by the cashier alone and did not bind the bank, as according to section 10 of the charter the bills were to be signed by the president, and countersigned by the cashier, but the drafts were paid.⁴⁰ The cashier claimed that he acted only in the interest

³⁸Edward's *Great West*, p. 309.

³⁹The remaining sixty per cent. was due Sept. 18, 1817. See *Mo. Gazette*, Aug. 30.

⁴⁰See *Mo. Gazette*, April 24, 1818.



OLD MISSOURI CURRENCY

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of the bank, and did not profit personally in these transactions.⁴¹ Among those in Kentucky who were interested with the cashier in these transactions were Richard M. and James Johnson, who, with General Duval Payne, also of Kentucky, became largely interested in the Bank of Edwardsville, and associated there with Theophilus W. Smith. Richard M. Johnson was afterwards Vice-President of the United States and General Payne was his brother-in-law. The transactions of the cashier with the Johnsons led to prolonged litigation. There were changes in the directory in December.

Directors of the Bank of St. Louis, prior to the 8th of December, 1817, for that year were:

Samuel Hammond,	William Rector,
Risdon H. Price,	Theodore Hunt,
Joshua Pilcher,	Justus Post,
Robert Simpson,	Eli B. Clemson,
Moses Austin,	Elias Bates,
Samuel Perry,	Thomas Wright,
Thompson Douglas,	J. B. N. Smith, Cashier.

After December 8, 1817, until February, 11, 1818:

Samuel Hammond,	Eli B. Clemson,
Moses Austin,	Elias Bates,
J. J. Wilkinson,	Walter Wilkinson,
Justus Post,	Nathaniel B. Tucker,
Elias Rector,	Robert Simpson,
Robert Collet,	James Mason,
Joshua Pilcher,	J. B. N. Smith, Cashier.

Directors, April 24, 1818:⁴²

Samuel Hammond,	Justus Post,
Eli B. Clemson,	James Mason,
J. J. Wilkinson,	Elias Bates,
Walter Wilkinson,	Nathaniel B. Tucker,
Theophilus W. Smith,	Rufus Easton,
Stephen F. Austin,	The. W. Smith, Cashier.
Two Vacancies.	

A difference of opinion in the Board led to strange proceedings. On Feb. 11, 1818, in place of John B. N. Smith (re-

⁴¹*Ibid.*, May 1, 1818.

⁴²*Missouri Gazette*, April 24, 1818.

moved), Theophilus W. Smith was elected cashier, over Archibald Gamble, who was the only other person in nomination, and President Hammond appointed as first teller Wm. O'Hara, who, by September following, had become cashier.⁴³ Theophilus W. Smith had become a director in the Bank of Edwardsville by Oct. 10, 1818.⁴⁴ Directors Rector, Simpson and Pilcher resigned. Pilcher claimed that although Theophilus W. Smith owned stock in the bank and had been elected a director, he had remained in this territory for only three or four weeks in the spring and summer of 1816, and that his seat had been vacated for a variety of reasons, the most substantial of which was that he was a resident of New York; and that when he was elected cashier he had but a month before landed in the territory. The keys of the vault were given to President Hammond. Joshua Pilcher, Elias Rector, Thos. H. Benton, Lieut. James McGunnigle, of the Army of the U. S., Thomas (or Thompson?) Douglas, Stephen Rector, Thomas Hanly, John Little, Jeremiah Conner, Taylor Berry and Colonel Daniel Bissell, also of the Army of the U. S., with others turned the officers of the bank out of doors, and locked the bank building and took the keys, and said they expected to keep them there until their grievances were adjusted. Those put out claimed they feared bodily harm. A demand of the keys of the vault was made, but the President refused to give them up. The places of the resigned directors were offered to "almost every man in town" and refused. The keys were returned on the morning of the 16th and everything was found in place. Notice was given that the bank would be open on the 23rd, giving the new cashier time to inform himself as to the affairs of the bank. There was given a further notice that the opening was postponed until March 10th.⁴⁵

⁴³*Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1818.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1818. Gamble shortly thereafter was elected clerk of the Circuit Court. *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1818.

⁴⁵See two col. article signed by the retiring directors, Thomas H. Benton and others. *Mo. Gazette*, March 6, 1818. See Letter Joshua Pilcher 3½ cols. *Ibid.*, March 13 and 20, 1818.

As a sidelight, it may be of interest to note that on August 12, 1817, Colonel Benton and Charles Lucas had fought a duel in which Lucas was wounded, and that on September 27th following, a second duel took place between them and Lucas was fatally wounded. At this last meeting Major Joshua Pilcher was present as a friend of Benton and Colonel Clemson was present as a friend of Lucas.⁴⁶ Pilcher and Clemson were directors of the Bank of St. Louis but belonging to opposing factions, while Lucas' father, J. B. C. Lucas, was affiliated with the Bank of Missouri.⁴⁷

A few days previous to the affair an attempt was made to poison John B. N. Smith, and his whole family, by giving them arsenic. The attempt was made by a negro. There was no intimation that this act had any connection with the affairs of the bank.⁴⁸

On March 6th the following was published:

"Ordered that all notes under discount in the Bank of St. Louis, when the same shall become due and payable, shall be paid in specie, the notes of the Bank of St. Louis, Bank of Missouri, Bank of U. S. and its branches, and no other; that the cashier be instructed to see that this regulation is rigidly enforced. Sam'l. Hammond, President."

On March 13th, there was published the following notice:

"The public mind having become tranquilized, the Bank of St. Louis opened on Tuesday last, redeemed its paper in specie, and the public are hereby notified that it will continue to redeem paper in specie on presentation. Signed, S. Hammond, Pres."⁴⁹

The May 1st issue contains a statement of David Barton, the first U. S. Senator elected in the State of Missouri, as to the legal phases of drafts that were signed by the cashier only and on July 10, "Aristides" replied to David Barton; on May 15th, Justus Post wrote a four column

⁴⁶Meigs *Life of Benton*, p. 112.

⁴⁷Later J. B. C. Lucas was the chief contestant against Benton for the U. S. Senate.

⁴⁸See *Kentucky Argus*, *Detroit Gazette*, April 10, 1818.

⁴⁹For various extended statements about this incident, and the bank generally, see *Ibid.*, April 24, May 1, May 15 and May 29, 1818.

article about the bank's affairs. July 17th issue contains a communication from "A Missourian" to the directors of the Bank of St. Louis. On November 10th, the directors of the Bank made a request to the Territorial Legislature that an investigation should be made into the causes of the embarrassment and present state of the institution. The request was referred to a committee, but the report of the committee was not printed and has not been found.⁵⁰

In the issue March 13th, Rufus Easton, evidently to show his confidence in the Bank, published over his signature, that he had in St. Louis and its vicinity, unencumbered real property to the value of \$30,000, which he would mortgage for the payment of that amount of notes of the Bank of St. Louis, payable one, two, or three years at the rate of 10% interest, or for a sum less than that amount if it exceeded \$5,000.

In a statement, dated April 21, 1818, President Hammond said that the loans of the bank had never exceeded \$224,000, that since December 8th the bank had reduced the loans \$60,000, the notes \$51,000, and claims \$55,000.⁵¹

Real estate in St. Louis was offered in exchange for stock of Bank of St. Louis.⁵² Then began the publication of many articles, tending to "open the eyes of the people as to the baneful effects of banking."⁵³

At that time it was estimated there were 297 banks in the United States.⁵⁴

Shortly before this, the President of the Bank of the U. S. at Philadelphia, advised the Secretary of the Treasury that the U. S. Bank and its branches would not accept bills which were made payable at its several branches at other than the

⁵⁰See *Journal of the House and Mo. Gazette*, Nov. 27th. Matters of the Bank of Missouri were before the Legislature at the same time and much discussed in the *Gazette*, as will be mentioned later.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, April 24th.

⁵²*Ibid.*, July 31, 1818.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1818, quoting from *Niles Register*; also, a series of articles, of several columns each, entitled "The paper system"—making in all a somewhat full discussion of paper money, and making it clear that the principles relating to that subject were then well understood although not heeded in Missouri. *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25; Oct. 2, 9, 1818.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1818.

place where they were payable except in payment of debts due to the U. S. Notices to this effect from the Baltimore and New York branches were published in St. Louis.⁵⁵ Publication was made that the U. S. Bank paper would also fluctuate in value and might be below par in different places for the same reason, though not in the same ratio, as the paper of the State Banks. This action of the U. S. Bank created a great stir and aroused great feelings against the U. S. Bank.

Bank failures began. The reaction following the war, and the wild expansion of State Bank issues was showing itself.

On July 12, 1819, a long public statement was made saying that the Bank of St. Louis, after suspension of about twelve months, had resumed on March 3rd last, that the Directors had raised money to aid in liquidation, that the bank had redeemed \$14,000 of its bills, had liquidated \$12,000 of other claims, and drew attention to the delinquency of Colonels James and R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, in not paying \$56,000, lately awarded against them.⁵⁶ Thomas H. Benton and Mathias McGirk, the first Chief Justice in the State, were the arbitrators. The doors of the bank were then closed and the assets distributed, its career resulting in damage to the community, loss to the stockholders and a mass of litigation, including suits by the bank against President Hammond and a majority of the several directors.⁵⁷ No report of the final settlement of the bank's affairs has been found. The *Jeffersonian Republican* of March 12, 1836, is quoted as saying that the notes of the bank were never redeemed. On February 12, 1821, the Secretary of the Treasury reported that the Government still had a deposit of \$87.00 in the suspended Bank of St. Louis.⁵⁸ Thomas H. Benton had given his attention to such an extent to the affairs of this bank, and also later to the affairs of the Bank of Missouri,

⁵⁵*Mo. Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1818.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, March 10, and July 14, 1819.

⁵⁷In files in St. Louis Court House.

⁵⁸16th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Doc.* 100.

that it is likely his later policy in support of hard money was one of the results.

SECOND BANK—"BANK OF MISSOURI"—1816.

It will be recalled that there had been great delay in organizing the Bank of St. Louis authorized by the Legislature in 1813. It was not until September 2, 1816, that its first board of directors was elected, and the bank did not open for business until December 13th of that year. It will be noted from the list above given that Samuel Hammond, Bernard Pratte, Risdon H. Price, Moses Austin and Robert Simpson, of the commissioners to take subscription to the capital stock, were elected directors, but the following commissioners were among those not elected, to-wit: Auguste Chouteau, John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, Manuel Lisa, Thomas Brady, Bartholemew Berthold, Rufus Easton and Christian Wilt.

The same issue of the *Gazette* (Sept. 14, 1816) that told of the election of the first Board of Directors of the Bank of St. Louis, reported that on September 4th certain persons in St. Louis subscribed articles of association and formed a company or limited partnership under the name of "The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Missouri." The articles of co-partnership agreed: (1) that the bill for the charter of the Bank of St. Louis should be taken as the basis; (2) to the name; (3) Jean P. Cabanne, Charles Gratiot, William Smith, Matthew Kerr and John McKnight receive subscriptions, the agreement to be presented by them until \$25,000 was secured "to be raised in Kentucky bank notes, gold or silver;" (4) that at time of subscription \$5.00 per share be paid, to be forfeited unless \$20.00 additional was paid by January 1st, next; (5) that the capital stock be \$250,000 in shares of \$100 each, subscriptions to close when \$100,000 was subscribed, the directors to open subscriptions thereafter until all was subscribed; (6) that the above named persons were charged with procuring suitable plates and paper for issuing notes or bills and deliver same to the directors; (7) that the election of directors take place in not less than five nor

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more than ten days after the first subscription was closed; (8) that the directors when elected were to make immediate issue of small notes not to exceed \$3.00 each in amount and not to exceed double the amount actually in their hands. The names and amounts subscribed by then were:⁴⁹

	Shares	
Thomas F. Riddick.....	31	\$3,100
William Smith.....	30	3,000
Jean P. Cabanne.....	30	3,000
Berthold & Chouteau.....	30	3,000
Auguste Chouteau.....	30	3,000
Christian Wilt.....	30	3,000
Joseph Philipson.....	20	2,000
McKnight & Brady.....	30	3,000
Thomas Hanley.....	20	2,000
Brady & McKnight.....	20	2,000
Matthew Kerr & Bell.....	20	2,000
Charles Gratiot.....	20	2,000
Sylvestro Labbadie.....	15	1,500
Frederick Bates.....	15	1,500
M. D. Bates.....	15	1,500
John Little.....	15	1,500
Thomas Hempstead.....	10	1,000
Lilburn W. Boggs & Co.....	10	1,000
James Clemens, Jr.....	10	1,000
Moses Scott.....	10	1,000
Elisha Beebe.....	10	1,000
Holmes & Elliot.....	10	1,000
Alexander McNair.....	10	1,000
Wm. E. Carr.....	10	1,000
Michael Tesson.....	10	1,000
J. & G. Lindell.....	10	1,000
John Thompson.....	10	1,000
Wm. E. Peschy.....	10	1,000
Thomas Brady.....	10	1,000
J. W. Amoureux.....	10	1,000
C. N. B. Allen.....	10	1,000
Henry Von Phul & Co.....	10	1,000
John B. C. Lucas.....	20	2,000

⁴⁹Edwards, *Great West*, pp. 310f.

	Shares	
Antoine Chenie.....	10	\$1,000
Wm. Christy.....	10	1,000
Robert Walsh.....	10	1,000
P. J. & J. G. Lindell.....	10	1,000
Jeremiah Connor.....	10	1,000
Michael Ely.....	5	500
Charles Bosseron.....	5	500
Michael Dollan.....	5	500
Thomas Peebles.....	5	500
Evaristo Maury.....	5	500
A. Landreville.....	5	500
D. Delauny.....	5	500
M. P. Leduc.....	5	500
Samuel Edgar.....	5	500
Emilien Yosti.....	5	500
Charles Dehault Delassus.....	5	500
Silas Bant.....	5	500
Benjamin O'Fallon.....	5	500
Farrar & Reed.....	3	300
Nero Lyons.....	3	300
Josiah Brady.....	3	300
C. M. Price.....	3	300
Christian F. Showe.....	3	300
A. L. Papin.....	3	300
Charles Sanguinet.....	2	200
James Irwin.....	2	200
Antoine Danjin.....	2	200
Joseph Robidoux.....	2	200
Silas Curtis.....	2	200
John B. Zenoni.....	2	200
A. Rutgers.....	2	200
Peter Provenchere.....	2	200
Christian Smith.....	2	200
R. Davis.....	2	200
Ephriam Town.....	2	200
Wm. Cabane.....	2	200
Macky Cherry.....	2	200
Marguerite Lacaise.....	2	200
Francois Valois.....	2	200
P. Lee.....	2	200
Peter Primm.....	1	100

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	Shares	
Wm. Sullivan	1	\$100
Samuel Solomon	1	100
Bartholomew Arnauld	1	100
Joseph Charless	5	500
Edward Addarly	5	500
Antoine Soulard	4	400
Joseph Henderson, Jr.	10	1,000
Michael Lacroix	10	1,000
Pierre Menard	30	3,000
Total Amount		\$78,500

Immediately following this last notice was one dated September 9th, signed by those authorized to get subscriptions, calling a stockholders meeting on September 19th to elect directors. The issue of the paper next after this is so mutilated that the names of those elected was not found, nor have they been found elsewhere.

Auguste Chouteau was elected president and Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards Governor of the State, was the first cashier. Lilburn W. Boggs was cashier until March, 1818; then John Dales, until September, 1819; then A. L. Langham, until July, 1820; then L. S. Bompert, until the failure.⁶⁰ The bank began business September 30th. Its place of business was for several years in the basement of Col. Chouteau's residence on Main Street. In 1819 they built a banking house at No. 6 North Main, and on its completion occupied it that same year.⁶¹

On January 31, 1817, the Legislature passed an act to incorporate the bank under the name assumed by the co-partnership, the incorporators to be those who had signed the articles of agreement and all such persons who on February 1, 1817, should hold any shares in the bank.⁶² In the passage

⁶⁰American State Papers, Finance, Vol. III. See statements page 824, et. seq.

⁶¹Billion's Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, p. 88.

⁶²See Territorial Laws of Mo., Vol. 1, p. 532.

of the act there was a prolonged and spirited contest. However, the bill duly passed the House and passed the Council, (being what was the Senate, under State law,) but a question arose about the enrollment of the bill and the President of the Council refused to sign it and the Council by a tie vote refused to order him to sign it. Nevertheless, the Governor approved the bill, and in 1821 the Supreme Court sustained the act.⁶³ But until this decision there was repeated question as to the due incorporation of the bank. In the Legislature in 1818, a bill supplementary to the act incorporating the bank, and a bill to perfect and make valid the said act, were both defeated.⁶⁴

The leading provisions of the act were:

The capital stock was to be \$250,000 in shares of \$100 each, exclusive of such shares as might thereafter be subscribed by the Territory of Missouri. Five dollars were required to be paid on each share, according to the articles of association aforesaid and were to be forfeited to the bank unless \$20.00 on each share in addition thereto were paid on February 1, 1817,—which sum of \$25.00 was a first installment. Further installments of not to exceed \$25.00 on each share could be called on ninety days published notice.⁶⁵ The bank was to transact its business in St. Louis and be managed by nine directors. Directors had to be residents of the territory and stockholders citizens of the United States. Stockholders could vote for one share and not exceeding four shares, one vote each; for every two shares above four and not exceeding twenty, one vote; for every four shares above twenty and not exceeding forty, one vote; for every six shares above forty and not exceeding one hundred, one vote. No person or body corporate to have more than fifty votes. A stockholder to vote must have held his stock two calendar months prior to day of election.⁶⁶ "The books, papers, correspondence and funds of the company shall at all times be subject to the in-

⁶³See *Douglas vs. Bank of Missouri* 1, Mo. p. 24.

⁶⁴See *Journal House of Rep.* Nov. 13, 24; Dec. 2, 4, 5, 9, 12 and 14, 1818.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, Sec. 3.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, Sec. 4.

spection of the directors, and no director shall be entitled to loan at any time more than \$3,000 from said bank either in his own name or the name of any other person."⁶⁷ No compensation was to be given to a director for his services. An account stating the situation of the bank and its funds, sworn to by the president, directors and cashier, was to be laid before the Legislature on the first day of each session, penalty for failure therefor to be repeal of charter⁶⁸; stockholders must pay all debts due from them to the bank before transferring their stock;⁶⁹ dividends were to be half-yearly out of net earnings;⁷⁰ the bank at no time was to discount or loan more than double the paid-in capital. No standing or unlimited accommodation was to be granted to or by the president and directors;⁷¹ directors were to be individually liable for any dividend impairing the capital, making provision for a director to exculpate himself if he had his dissent entered in the minutes and within twenty days published the fact in a newspaper;⁷² the bank was prohibited from engaging in trade or dealing in "any goods, wares or merchandise whatever, except bills of exchange, bullion, stock of the United States, or of incorporated institutions," with certain provisions for holding and disposing of pledged and mortgaged property;⁷³ holders of 500 shares of stock could call general meeting of stockholders; the bank was prohibited from owing at any time, whether by bond, bill, note or other contract, more than twice the amount of paid-in capital, this exclusive of deposits,—and for any excess, directors violating were individually liable. The bank assumed all obligations of the co-partnership that had carried on the business of banking under the name now held by the bank;⁷⁴ the bank to transact its business in St. Louis at a location which, when fixed, was to be unalterable. When the

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 8. The restriction of this section will be of interest later.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 17.

inhabitants of any county had subscribed for \$40,000 stock of the bank and had paid their calls thereon, if they so requested, a branch was to be established in such county for discount and deposit only;⁷⁵ cashier was to give \$10,000 bond and clerk a \$6,000 bond, with two sureties; on designated legislative authority, the Governor was any time within ten years to subscribe and pay for 1000 shares of stock for the Territory⁷⁶ and the bank was to lend to the Territory without endorsement, for not exceeding one year, one-half the amount paid for such stock;⁷⁷ all citizens of the territory to have a fair opportunity to become subscribers of the stock; not more than one-fourth of the stock to be subscribed for by persons residing outside of this or Illinois territory;⁷⁸ bank to pay specie on all its bills and notes, under penalty of 5% per month;⁷⁹ charter to continue till February 1, 1838, but two-thirds of stockholders could surrender it;⁸⁰ Legislature reserved right to tax stock or dividends of the bank, same as other personal property for use of free schools;⁸¹ bank had six months within which to begin business.

On February 7, 1817, a call was made for \$12.50 on each share to be paid May 12th; March 1st a general meeting of stockholders was called for election of directors on May 5th. March 20th the bank gave notice that it would pay specie on all its notes on presentation, and on May 24th, there was published a notice dated May 9th that the bank had accepted the charter granted by the Legislature and was then acting under it. A call was made for a second payment of \$12.50 on each share due first Monday in September. On July 12th notice was published that subscription books for stock would be opened the fourth Monday in September at five designated

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 32.

places "for three entire days."²² On September 13th the third instalment of \$25.00 on the stock was called for, and on October 13th notice was given of a dividend of 6% on the paid-in instalments on the stock. On April 7, 1818 a dividend of 7% on the paid-in instalments was declared.²³

Sometime afterwards, President Chouteau, in one of his letters to the Secretary of the Treasury, made the following comments about the starting of the Bank, and its operation, which comments throw some light on why he and some of his associates were not among the directors of the Bank of St. Louis:

"The Bank of Missouri, unlike most other banking institutions, owes not its origin to any selfish or speculative purposes. Self-defense alone has given it birth, and the same principle has continued uniformly to govern its operations all along. At a time when this country already began to feel the noxious influence of a system which has since become the source of such universal pressure, the Bank of St. Louis sprang into existence, under circumstances and appearances of great peculiarity; the manner of its formation, the nature of its regulations, and the materials of its compositions, all tended to create apprehensions which its subsequent transactions prove to have been but to well founded. Then it was that an association was formed, of well-meaning persons, all attached to this territory, and intimately concerned in its welfare, who, instead of indulging in the fabrications of fictitious means, meant, on the contrary, to repel the influx of those unwarrantable issues of bills which all found their way to this country, and which, if not betimes opposed, would perhaps have ultimately enveloped in one common ruin the whole mass of our unsuspecting population. The expectation, indeed, of the public utility which promised to grow out of such an association was the motive which alone could have induced me, at my advanced period of life, to subject myself to the discharge of those duties which are attendant on my situation.

"With such professed views, however, and a course of conduct correspondent therewith on the part of this institution, it could not fail to become an object of jealousy and distrust to most of the western banks, who looked upon this country as the devoted market for their bills, and upon the Missouri Bank as a hindrance thrown in their way. Attempts were made by several of these

²²See *Mo. Gazette*, Feb. 15, March 1, April 5, May 24 and July 12, 1817.

²³*Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1818.

banks to effect with it what they termed "arrangements of mutual benefit;" and when these were declined, as being inconsistent with the plan of our association, from that moment we became the object of their avowed enmity."⁶⁴

At the time the Bank of Missouri was established, the medium of exchange then circulating in this part of the country was chiefly foreign notes of the banks of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana, North Carolina, etc., in which the greater part of the capital stock of the bank was paid, and which was afterwards converted by the bank into specie.⁶⁵

Illinois, in its legislative session of 1816-17, had granted a charter to "The President and Directors of the Bank of Illinois." This bank was located at Shawneetown and opened for business with \$10,000 in specie January 1, 1817. Its charter and that of the Bank of Missouri resembled in very many respects. It will be recalled that the Second Bank of the United States went into operation January 7, 1817. In October, 1816, according to Secretary of Treasury Crawford there were 89 banks of deposit in the different States.⁶⁶ Shortly after the U. S. Bank started, Secretary Crawford asked the United States Bank to designate certain banks as additional depositories of Government funds. On November 13, 1817, the Treasury Department notified the cashier of the Bank of St. Louis that the Bank of Missouri had been selected by the United States Bank to receive public deposits at St. Louis.⁶⁷ It may be of interest to note that Samuel Hammond, President of the Bank of St. Louis, before he came to St. Louis in 1802, had defeated Mr. Crawford for a seat in Congress from Georgia.⁶⁸ But this arrangement of having so many State bank depositories was not satisfactory and was terminated the next year. Thereupon, Secretary Crawford designated certain banks as agents of the Treasury, among

⁶⁴See *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. III, p. 748.

⁶⁵See *Report Special Committee Mo. Legislature*, 1822, in *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. V., p. 19.

⁶⁶*Am. State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, p. 719.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 550.

⁶⁸See Miss Drumm's Pamphlet, p. 7. The Bank of St. Louis was never designated a depository of public funds.

them the Bank of Missouri. Other of these "agents of the Treasury" were the Bank of Illinois and the Bank of Edwardsville, which started business on \$10,000 specie late in 1818 under a charter granted by the Illinois Legislature early in that year.⁸⁰ It was made such "agent" at the special request of Ninian Edwards, then, Senator from Illinois. The Bank of Edwardsville was so near a neighbor to the Bank of Missouri at St. Louis that there was a conflict of interest and a decided jealousy. The Bank of Illinois, in its one year of existence, had had a rough road to travel. The Bank of Edwardsville faced even a more trying situation. President Marshall of the Bank of Illinois said that the Bank of Missouri would refuse to accept the notes of the Illinois banks for a time, and then, in order to present a large amount for redemption, would accept them freely, and that on one occasion a representative of the Bank of Missouri appeared at the counter of the Bank of Illinois and obtained \$12,000 of its small supply of specie in exchange for its Bank of Illinois notes.⁸¹ The two Illinois Banks, it seems, had effected an arrangement between themselves by which if either got the others notes, it would send them as far away from the issuing bank as possible.⁸² It may be that that was the kind of "arrangement of mutual benefit" that President Chouteau refers to in letter quoted above.

Under the contract between the Bank of the United States and the United States Treasury, the bank was obligated to transfer only public money and not bank notes. As the United States Bank had no branches in either Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi or Alabama, the receivers of the land offices in those states found it impracticable to make their deposits in that bank or its offices without incurring an expense nearly equal to their salary and emoluments, which in 1818 was reduced from one and one-half per cent. to one per cent. Thus the Government was put to the extremity of leaving the receipts for public money in the hands of the receivers (which

⁸⁰*Laws of Illinois, 1817-18, p. 65; also Knox History of Banking in U. S., p. 713.*

⁸¹Letter of Marshall to Edwards, see *Edwards Papers*, p. 155.

⁸²See letter of John Caldwell to Edwards, in *Edwards Paper*, p. 158.

experience, as shown, was not desirable) or deposit them in some local bank and in some way compensate the bank for transferring such deposits to the United States Bank or one of its branches.

The West was inundated with a paper currency which, without possessing the essential properties of a circulating medium, had, by the facility with which it was put out, excluded from circulation bills of banks of more established credit and more general currency. * This again illustrated the Gresham Law that a bad currency puts a better currency out of circulation.

In the absence of United States Bank notes in the West, the purchaser of lands had to pay in specie and thereby specie was drained from the western country to the Atlantic states or to New Orleans. To remedy this, the Secretary of the Treasury agreed that the receivers of the land offices might accept the notes of any of the incorporated banks. This was in 1817, when most of the banks had resumed specie payments, but in 1818 most of the southern and western banks had again suspended specie payments, so the Secretary of the Treasury had to restrict the notes that the receivers of the land offices could take to specie-paying banks. The local banks then had to incur the expense of collecting these notes or transferring them to the United States Bank or its branches. To compensate the local banks for this expense, the Secretary of the Treasury agreed to put a fixed deposit of an agreed amount in such banks as were designated as depositories, such fixed deposit to be withdrawn only if necessary. It was under this agreement that the Bank of Missouri was given a fixed deposit of \$150,000. The fixed deposit of the Bank of Edwardsville was \$40,000; that of the Bank of Illionis, \$50,000; that given the Bank of Missouri was the largest given any of the deposit banks.⁹²

The total amount of deposits made by the receivers of the land offices in the Bank of Missouri was \$1,088,333.⁹³

⁹²See *Niles Register*, Vol. XXIV; *U. S. H. R. 18, Cong. 1st Session*, Doc. Nos. 128, 133; *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, pp. 263 and 718.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 720.

The public lands sold in offices northwest of the Ohio River were:⁹⁴

Year.	Acreage.	Amount.	Cash Paid.
1818.....	1,997,245.81½	\$4,342,293.59	\$2,239,467.41½
1819.....	1,312,038.68½	3,168,701.86½	1,619,351.33½
Total...	3,309,284.49½	\$7,510,995.45½ 3,858,818.74½	\$3,858,818.74½
Leaving Unpaid.		\$3,652,176.70½	

The lands sold in the State of Missouri, from October 1, 1818, to September 30, 1819, showing also the receipts from individuals, with the balances due September 30, 1819, were as follows:⁹⁵

OFFICES.	LANDS SOLD, AFTER DEDUCTING LANDS REVERTED.		LANDS REVERTED. RECEIPTS BY PURCHASE MONEY.	
	Acres.	Amount.	Acres.	Amount.
Franklin.....	662,434.37	\$1,594,905.69	46,708.71½	\$527,107.48
St. Louis.....	470,990.25	1,141,340.65½	27,823.88	306,433.55½
			Receivers Forfeitures.	Balances due Sept. 30, 1819.
Franklin.....			\$12,273.56	\$1,419,800.54
St. Louis.....			4,892.78	867,556.94

There was no bank capital in Illinois, Indiana or Missouri, so far as known to the United States Treasurer until 1817 and in that year there was only \$127,624 in Indiana and only \$193,125 in Missouri, while the bank capital on other western and southern states was as follows:⁹⁶

⁹⁴American State Papers, Finance, Vol. 3, p. 430.

⁹⁵American State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 431.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 512.

State, District or Territory.	1814	Capital 1815	1816	1817
Louisiana.....	\$1,432,300	\$1,402,300	\$1,422,300	\$1,432,300
Mississippi.....	100,000	100,000	100,000	200,000
Tennessee.....	212,962	365,610	498,506	995,500
Kentucky.....	932,600	2,532,000	2,057,000	2,823,100
Ohio.....	1,435,819	1,932,108	2,806,737	2,003,969

and in 1819 the statements of the banks of these states showed:⁹⁷

RESOURCES.

State, District or Territory.	Loans or discounts.	Due by other banks.	Specie.
Tennessee.....	\$2,214,729.56	\$218,060.73	343,884.41
Kentucky.....	5,859,262.30	243,737.08	693,381.19
Ohio.....	2,779,314.63	422,269.60	433,612.04
Indiana.....	300,278.91	395,932.70	86,350.83
Illinois.....	206,694.32	59,332.18	74,715.51
Missouri.....	456,946.00	447,941.00	252,563.50
Mississippi.....	1,257,859.46	56,361.97	79,608.01

State, District or Territory.	Stocks of Incorporated Companies, bills of exchange and other miscellaneous effects.	Real Estate.
Tennessee.....	\$18,905.40	\$40,423.58
Kentucky.....	150,610.98	6,367.62
Ohio.....	294,765.99	92,999.70
Indiana.....	25,000.00	2,656.10
Illinois.....	6,614.00	175.00
Missouri.....		11,667.38
Mississippi.....		32,338.40

⁹⁷It will be noted Louisiana is not mentioned and it is supposed that the banks in that State at that time had suspended specie payments.

LIABILITIES.

State, District or Territory.	Capital paid in.	Notes in Circulation.
Tennessee.....	\$1,545,867.50	\$898,129.00
Kentucky.....	4,307,431.56	1,403,404.71
Ohio.....	1,697,463.21	1,203,869.46
Indiana.....	202,857.07	276,288.50
Illinois.....	140,910.00	52,021.00
Missouri.....	250,000.00	135,258.50
Mississippi.....	900,000.00	275,447.00

State, District or Territory.	DEPOSITS.	
	Public.	Private.
Tennessee.....	\$17,003.71	\$262,866.22
Kentucky.....		1,035,653.18
Ohio.....	191,454.22	262,999.88
Indiana.....	191,484.95	25,264.68
Illinois.....	119,036.92	32,568.60
Missouri.....	700,679.05	72,973.00
Mississippi.....		212,980.01

State, District or Territory.	Due to Other Banks.	Undivided Profits.
Tennessee.....	\$29,884.00	\$82,253.25
Kentucky.....	1,752.25	205,117.47
Ohio.....	578,891.91	88,283.28
Indiana.....	104,737.23	9,586.11
Illinois.....		2,994.49
Missouri.....		10,207.33
Mississippi.....		37,740.43

It is not surprising that the public deposits of \$700,679.05 in the Bank of Missouri in 1819, while the private deposits were only \$72,973 created much antagonism, because nowhere else, except the District of Columbia (\$980,510.08) and Alabama (\$888,138.79) did the public deposits amount to as much as \$200,000. Kentucky had none.⁹⁸

Thomas F. Riddick, one of the directors of the bank of Missouri, who at times acted as president *pro tem.* at the

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 513.

request of President Chouteau "when he was absent at his farm or was holding Indian Treaties or otherwise unable to attend," and who was elected president after the resignation of Mr. Chouteau in January, 1821, made a general statement to the following effect when he testified before a Congressional Investigating Committee in 1822. He said that a large amount of public moneys accumulated in the Bank of Missouri prior to August 9, 1819, received from the land offices in notes of various banks of the West which could not be used by the U. S. Treasury to discharge debts due by the Government—that the Bank of Missouri at its own risk and expense converted those funds into funds the Treasury could use at St. Louis. A messenger from the Bank carried money in person to New Orleans or Louisville, often undergoing great danger and hardship.⁹⁹ But the Government had no occasion to use much funds, so made the proposition to the bank to transfer its funds to the U. S. Bank and certain of its branches, and as a compensation for this service, agreed that \$150,000 should remain in the bank as a permanent deposit, subject, however, to be drawn if necessary. Under this arrangement the Bank of Missouri had to make demand on nearly all of the institutions of the West for specie funds or such other funds as would satisfy the drafts of the U. S. Treasurer, and thereby encountered the hostility of those banks and the gentlemen connected with them.¹⁰⁰ This antagonism was among the causes of the bank's troubles. It led to much correspondence, which will be referred to hereinafter.

In 1817 many of the banks resumed specie payments, but in 1818 a great portion of them stopped payment. In the early part of 1819 the price of all articles produced in the western states fell so low as to scarcely defray the expense of transportation to the ports from whence they were usually exported to foreign markets. This condition of things, which had not been anticipated when the debt for the public

⁹⁹U. S. 18 Cong. 1. Sess., *Report of Secretary of Treasury*, pp. 444, 535, 545, 551, 565.

¹⁰⁰*American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 5, pp. 91-92.

lands was contracted, produced the most serious distress at the moment and excited alarming apprehensions for the future.¹⁰¹ On April 6, 1819, the President of the U. S. Bank, in a private letter, wrote the Secretary of the Treasury, "The very critical situation of this Bank, which is becoming more so every hour, yesterday closed with only \$95,000 specie in our vaults."¹⁰²

On January 25, 1821, Mr. Chouteau wrote the Secretary of the Treasury that by reason of "old age and infirmities" he had resigned as president of the bank. On January 30th, the bank, in a letter signed by Thomas F. Riddick, president, and Joseph Phillipson, Thomas Hemstead, H. Von Phul and M. Tesson, directors, confirmed the resignation of Mr. Chouteau, and said his successor would be elected on the return of several absent directors. Thomas F. Riddick was elected. This letter set out the withdrawal of specie by the steamboats from New Orleans, as among the general reasons for shortage of funds.

The following report of the condition of the Bank was submitted to the extra session of the General Assembly in June, 1821.¹⁰³

BANK OF MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS,

JUNE 1, 1821.

RECAPITULATION.

DR.	
Capital Stock.....	\$250,000.00
On Deposit.....	255,562.94
Notes in Circulation.....	79,402.00
Profit Undivided.....	7,667.43
	<hr/>
	\$592,632.37

¹⁰¹Secretary Crawford in letter Feb. 14, 1822, *Ibid.*, p. 718.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 8.

¹⁰³*House Journal, Extra Session, First General Assembly of Mo., June 4, 1821, p. 7.*

RECAPITULATION.

CR.	
Notes Dis.....	\$393,983.01
Owed by other Banks.....	15,785.17
B. B. St. G'ne.....	40,000.00
On hand.....	109,531.47
On Collections.....	13,619.02
Real Estate.....	19,713.70
	<hr/> \$592,632.27

Louis Bompert, Cashier. Thomas F. Riddick, President.
 Joseph Philipson, Thos. Brady, Michael Tesson, James
 Kennerly, Thos. Hempstead, Directors.
 (The report was sworn to by all of those named.)

On June 15th, a select committee, to whom had been referred the statement of the bank and request to inquire whether there had been any violation of the charter of the bank, and also to inquire into and report the causes which had produced the then pecuniary distress of the citizens of this state, made a report on these subjects. It does not appear what the report contained. A motion to print was defeated and the report was laid on the table.¹⁰⁴ On June 25th, Duff Green introduced a bill to amend the charter of the bank, which bill was killed the next day.¹⁰⁵

On June 30, 1821 (stated January in the type), Thomas Riddick wrote a long letter to the Secretary of the Treasury referring to the difficulties of the bank and asked that the fixed deposit of \$150,000 be increased by \$50,000.¹⁰⁶ He enclosed condensed monthly statements of the conditions of the bank from June 1, 1819, to June 30, 1821. An interesting phase of these statements is that on the assets' side in each statement is given only "banks" and "cash"—for example, the statement of June 1, 1819, is:

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 40, 63.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 113-122.

¹⁰⁶*American State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 752.

Banks	\$15,246.24
Cash	693,949.84
	<hr/>
	\$709,196.08
Treasurer of U. S.	\$626,921.25
Bank of U. S. for use of the Treasurer	64,613.58
Banks	19,950.12
Deposits	99,989.50
Notes in Circulation	41,275.50
Dividend, Advance Discount & Interest	5,157.91
	<hr/>
	\$857,907.86
	709,196.08
	<hr/>
	\$148,711.78

The statement of June 30, 1821, is:

Banks	\$53,240.93
Cash	66,840.66
	<hr/>
	\$120,081.59
Treasurer of U. S.	\$199,966.88
Banks	1,005.40
Deposits	56,928.83
Notes in Circulation	65,056.50
Discount, Dividend, Advance & Interest	10,025.20
	<hr/>
	\$332,982.81
	120,081.59
	<hr/>
	\$212,901.22

Attention was drawn to an arrangement with Col. Riddick by which \$46,156 ought to be deducted from "Banks" and credited to "Treasurer of U. S." leaving the actual balance due the Treasury as \$153,810.88.

From these statements it appears that for the period mentioned, the largest amount owed at one time to the U. S.

was \$726,031.90 on September 3, 1819; to "Deposits" on May 2, 1820, \$150,336.83, and to "Notes in Circulation," June 2, 1820, \$153,899.50.

On August 17, 1821, Louis Bompert, cashier, wrote the Secretary that the bank had ceased operations on the 14th inst., (four days after Missouri had been admitted as a state on August 10, 1821), "being constrained thereto by the very embarrassing situation of the pecuniary affairs of the country of which the Board of Directors endeavored to give you a knowledge of theirs of the 30th of June last" and added that the institution was "completely solvent."

On the same day (August 17th) there was published in the *St. Louis Enquirer* the report of a committee "composed of persons entirely disinterested who were selected for their probity and intelligence," to-wit: R. Wash, A. Ferguson, James H. Peck, James Clemens, Jr., and A. Gamble. The report gave a statement of the bank, as follows:

		Dr.
The Bank of Missouri is		
For capital stock paid in		\$210,000.00
Notes in circulation		84,301.00
The United States deposits		152,407.65
Individual deposits		42,611.01
Balances due on dividends		421.96
		<hr/>
		\$489,741.56
		<hr/>
		Cr.
By bills discounted on personal security		\$129,015.14
Bills in suit		4,019.02
Bills secured by mortgages		99,689.00
Bills secured by stock pledged		186,335.00
Bills of exchange on eastern cities		12,700.00
Bills of exchange inland		8,726.00
Bills of exchange protested (eventually considered safe)		3,385.02

Notes of western banks (principally Knoxville and Huntsville).....	\$9,147.00
Amount due from other banks.....	1,517.26
Notes of the Ste. Genevieve branch.....	1,045.00
Auditor's certificates.....	752.80
Specie on hand.....	8,234.45
Real Estate.....	17,713.75
Overdrafts.....	11,622.27
	<hr/> \$493,901.71

"The committee, in the investigation of the accounts of the bank, have not been enabled to enter fully into the sufficiency of the security upon notes discounted. The notes upon personal security we should suppose to be good, with the exception of the amount of about \$39,416.62 (say thirty-nine thousand four hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-two cents) part of which is considered doubtful; those secured by mortgage, owing to the difficulties of the times, and the depreciation of property, we cannot consider as a full security; in some instances the property is mortgaged for more than its value, even in better times. It ought also to be recollected, that if the bank should proceed to collect its debts by legal means, instead of procuring money thereby, they will be under the necessity of taking property of which the possession cannot be obtained sooner than two years and a half."¹⁰⁷

The committee reported also that the directors owned 1347 shares of the stock and owed the bank

On stock of the bank as security.....	\$108,795.00
Notes secured by mortgage.....	79,689.00
On personal security.....	60,075.86
Liab as endorsers.....	37,310.00
Total.....	<hr/> \$285,869.86

(It will be noted that the directors had pledged to the bank at \$80.00 per share or over, every share of stock they owned in the bank. Thomas F. Riddick testified that \$80.00

¹⁰⁷*American State Papers, Finance, Vol. III, p. 757.*

per share was the limit loaned on the stock.) The committee said they could make no report on condition of the Branch at Ste. Genevieve which had an independent capital of \$40,000.

The evil of a bank's allowing its stock to be paid in notes or lending on its own stock as collateral, or allowing its directors to borrow too freely, was clearly understood in those days and had been pointedly drawn to the attention of the public with reference to this particular bank. The *Gazette* of November 27, 1818, printed a two-column article signed by "No Rag Baron" in which he called special attention to these very matters and spoke of the directors of the Bank of Missouri as "This nest of money-making Rag Barons." In the *Gazette* of December 4, 1818, the "Rag" banks were denounced, and it was predicted "that numerous banking institutions, particularly in the western country, would soon deposit their charters in the tomb of the Capulets and shut up shop." It was asked, "How are they to keep specie in their vaults when it is at a premium of 8% or 9% in our seaports and still higher in Europe and India."

The committee expressed the opinion that the ultimate payment of the notes of the bank in circulation and the amount on deposit were amply secured, provided the bank was indulged in making its collection and proper measures were adopted to enforce the same. The committee also drew attention to the 2½ year stay laws of the state. These stay laws will be discussed later.

The closing of the Bank of Missouri caused a run to be made on the Bank of Edwardsville by note holders from St. Louis and St. Charles. The directors were warned the night before of their coming and opened the doors of the bank at seven the next morning, keeping them open until several hours after closing time in the evening. This policy was continued for several days in the hope of restoring confidence, but the bank was soon compelled to suspend specie payments.¹⁰³ On or shortly before this same August 14, 1821, at Edwards-

¹⁰³The Development of Banking in Ill., 1817-63, by Dowrie, p. 17; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Aug. 21, Sept. 11, 1821.

ville, \$80,000 of loans, the entire allotment, of the nature of loan office certificates, which will be mentioned later, were made by the State Bank of Illinois.

At the next session of the Missouri Legislature in 1822, there was a special committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the Bank. Important paragraphs of the reports are:

"That the bank has never, at any time, had under discount a larger amount than was allowed by the charter.

"That the bank did make an arrangement with the Secretary of the Treasury for a permanent deposit of \$150,000, which they had a right to loan or use as they thought proper.

"That the bank, for nearly five years, did meet all demands against it in gold and silver, and did continue to do so as long as it had the means in its power.

"That the debts due the bank on personal security, as well as those secured by mortgage, with the exception of five thousand dollars, are deemed safe and well secured.

"The amount of notes in circulation are diminished \$51,515.75, of which amount \$7,356 as per statement, is sued on, and arrangement is further made, as your committee are informed, by which \$8,125 are now suspended in the lands of General Clark, so that, making no allowance for the loss in five years circulation, there is now only \$36,052.75 in circulation.

"Some of the Directors have borrowed more than \$3,000, and a construction has been given to that part of the 8th section of the act of incorporation in the words following, to wit:

"And no Director shall be entitled to loan at any time more than three thousand dollars from said bank, either in his own name or in the name of any other person," by which a Board of Directors have loaned sums, at their discretion, to any Director. By a rule of the by-laws of the bank (as your committee are informed) a Director has no right to loan any sum whatever, it requiring five Directors to authorize a loan. Of the propriety of this construction, your committee leave the House to judge."

* * * * *

"Your committee believe that the failure is not attributable to any act of dishonesty on the part of the directory of the bank, but to that cause only which has produced a general suspension in the western country, and to that policy which would submit the control of the currency, the wealth of this Union, and, unless soon counteracted, it is feared, its civil liberty, to the Bank of the United States."

There was attached to the report as an exhibit the following statement of the bank:

DEBTS DUE BY THE BANK OF MISSOURI.

To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at Louisville, Ky.	\$590.82
To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at New York...	2.25
To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at Washington..	470.84
Branch Bank of Ky. at Louisville.....	1,528.00
Treasury of the U. S.	152,342.88
Suits commenced against the Bank.....	7,356.00

To Amt. Notes in Circulation, as follows:

To whole amount issued.....	\$197,800.00
Post Notes.....	7,138.29

In all..... \$204,938.29

Deduct as follows:

Notes now on hand as appears from the books of the bank.....	\$153,422.54
Amt. suspended in hands, Gen'l Wm. Clark....	8,097.00
Notes on which suits are brought	7,356.00
	\$168,875.54

Which deduction leaves..... 36,062.75

Making the whole amt. due by the bank..... \$198,353.54

FUNDS OF THE BANK OF MISSOURI.

Debts due and secured in pledge of stock at 80%...	\$182,060.00
Debts due and secured by personal security on stock at 20%.....	32,700.00
Debts due and secured by pledge of stock at par..	1,000.00
Debts due on personal security.....	75,693.10
Debts due on mortgage.....	110,577.69
Due by Bank of St. Louis secured by mortgage with interest thereon, as verified by Pt. of Bank of Missouri and Exhibits of Sale, etc....	2,402.76
Balance on books.....	6,696.07
Judgments verified by President and Clerk and considered good.....	12,961.43
Real Estate.....	17,713.75
Utensils, as per report, valued at.....	200.00

Interest on judgments and notes suspended as per report.....	2,000.00
Miami Exporting Co.....	446.00
Make.....	\$441,460.80
From which deduct sum due by Bank.....	198,353.54
	<hr/> \$246,097.26

Leaving a balance in favor of the bank, but from which should be deducted the amount of \$8,097 deposited with General Clark, deducted from the notes in circulation."¹⁰⁹

Ninian Edwards, then a Senator from Illinois, published a number of articles signed "A. B." in papers in Washington and St. Louis, attacking Secretary of the Treasury Crawford for "Financial Mismanagement." He had also much correspondence directly with the Secretary. The basis of his charges goes back to Senator Edwards' connection with the Bank of Edwardsville and to the jealousy and antagonism that existed between the two Illinois banks and the Bank of Missouri. The controversy developed so as to cover the whole range of the relation between Secretary Crawford and various State Banks that acted as "Agents for the Treasury," and brought out the entire correspondence between the Bank of Missouri and the Secretary,¹¹⁰ and led to an investigation and report by a committee, communicated to Congress April 19, 1824.¹¹¹

In that investigation, among the witnesses as to the Bank of Missouri, were: 1. Thomas F. Riddick, whose testimony is mentioned above; 2. Thomas H. Benton, then in the Senate, who testified that he was at one time an editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*,—at one time a director of the Bank of Missouri, which at the time of its suspension of specie pay-

¹⁰⁹*Am. State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 5, pp. 19f.

¹¹⁰17 letters July 1, 1818, to Aug. 17, 1821—pp. 747 to 757, and 28 letters Oct. 31, 1817, to Jan. 19, 1822—pp. 817 to 831; the letters including monthly statements of the Bank of Missouri from Feb. 3, 1818, to Feb. 1 1820. See *U. S. H. of R. 17 Cong. 1st Sess. Doc. 650*; *Am. State Papers, Class III, Finance*, pages above, published in 1859.

¹¹¹The first 146 pages of Vol. V of above mentioned *Am. State Papers, Finance*, see *U. S. H. of R. 18 Cong. 1st Sess. Doc. 706*.

ments had assets beyond liabilities and had paid or secured all claims against it.¹¹³

On November 23, 1823, Thomas Sloo reported to the Secretary that George F. Strother, the agent of the Treasury Department, had brought suit on debts transferred by the Bank of Missouri in the State courts "in consequence of doubts having arisen of the bank being chartered for want of the signature of the Governor." The Supreme Court of the State, however, pronounced its charter valid.¹¹³

The agent later reported that he had made arrangements by which \$8,000 "in notes of the Treasury of the State of Missouri (commonly called loan office paper) were taken at the rate of seventy-five cents on the dollar (when they were worth only twenty-five or thirty cents on the dollar)." Among the securities assigned by the Bank to the U. S. Treasurer were some amounts of Missouri Loan office money and State Auditor's warrants. He exchanged \$4,539.64 of the Loan office money which bore 3% interest for the Auditor's warrants which bore 6% interest.¹¹⁴

On June 12, 1824, the Secretary of the Treasury stated "no payments have been made directly by the Bank of Missouri since its failure." It was said that some small amounts had been paid to the agent, but he had not yet reported them to the Secretary.¹¹⁵

On March 11, 1827, the Secretary of Treasury repeated that there was then due to the U. S. by transfer from the Bank of Missouri by the late directors of that bank, the following sums:

James Kennerly	\$14,932.36
Angus L. Langham	18,821.83
Michael Tesson	3,046.50
Thomas H. Benton	6,454.37
Joseph Philipson	23,162.08
Firm of Thomas & Charles S. Hempstead, the first of whom was a Director of the bank...	18,127.43

¹¹³*Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹⁴*Douglas vs. Bank*, 1 Mo. 24.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 118.

Judgments had been obtained on each.¹¹⁶

The greatest amount of circulation the bank ever had out was \$153,899.50 of which \$25,000 was in the Lexington, Ky. branch of the U. S. Bank and belonged to the Bank of Missouri. At the time it suspended, its outstanding circulation was \$86,000.¹¹⁷ On February 14, 1822, it still owed the U. S. \$152,342.¹¹⁸ No statement has been found of the final winding up of the bank. The *Jeffersonian Republican* March 12, 1836, is quoted as saying that the notes of the Bank of Missouri were redeemed at fifty cents on the dollar.

A large number of the bills of denomination of \$5.00, \$10.00 and \$20.00 of the Bank of Missouri were filed with the Circuit Clerk on October 4, 1821. They were all made payable to a named person or bearer. Some of those on file in the Missouri Historical Society bear date June 13, 1817. Among these are Nos. 284, 342, 670, each for \$10.00, all "payable to C. Witt or bearer." The vignette on them has a bust of Jefferson, a beehive, a rising sun, four three-mast ships and bales of merchandise on the levee.

The last act passed by the Territorial Legislature was approved December 24, 1818. On March 6, 1820, the U. S. Congress authorized "the people of Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State Government for admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territory."

On July 19, 1820, the people of Missouri, by their representatives in convention assembled, assented to certain conditions fixed by Congress. But Congress refused to admit the State except on certain condition, and on June 27, 1821, the legislature of Missouri accepted the condition, and on August 10, 1821, the President of the U. S. issued the proclamation announcing the State's acceptance. The anomalous position of Missouri during the prolonged and bitter discus-

¹¹⁶*Finance*, Vol. 5, p. 624.

¹¹⁷See Thomas F. Riddick's Statement, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 720.

sion of the "Missouri Compromise" caused great damage.¹¹⁹

Illinois had been admitted in 1818 and had in its Constitution (Article VIII, Sec. 21) the following:

"There shall be no other banks or moneyed institutions but those already provided by law, except a State bank and its branches which may be established and requested by the General Assembly of the State as they may think proper."

Indiana, two years before, had adopted a similar course.¹²⁰

While Missouri was not admitted as a State into the Union until August 10, 1821, yet she had adopted her first constitution on July 19, 1820. That constitution as Article VIII had this clause as to banks:

"The General Assembly may incorporate one banking company, and no more to be in operation at the same time.

"The bank to be incorporated may have any number of branches not to exceed five to be established by law, and not more than one branch shall be established at any one session of the General Assembly. The capital stock of the bank to be incorporated shall never exceed five million dollars, at least one-half of which shall be reserved for the use of the State."

NOTE: Chapter two, dealing with the next seventeen years, in which there was no State bank in Missouri, will be published in the next issue of The Missouri Historical Review.

¹¹⁹The first act passed by General Assembly of the State was approved Sept. 28, 1820.

¹²⁰*Constitution of Indiana*, 1816, Article 4.

Historical Notes and Comments.

Comment on the character of the articles in this issue of the *Review* is unnecessary. The authors are specialists in the fields covered by their contributions. In pursuance of the policy begun in the last *Review*, the articles are on Missouri centennial subjects, which makes them of special value to those interested in the State's one hundredth birthday. In the April and July issues contributions as significant will appear. The purpose to survey in summary and accurate form our century of history-making along the lines of industrial, agricultural, financial, literary, educational, artistic, and political progress, will be helpful and instructive.

We are inclined to believe that subject treatment of history is at least as important as the classic chronological method. Certainly it is the logical follower of the latter. Chronology may be and usually is the mechanical guide and and as such its value should not be minimized, but it is not or should not be the goal of historical instruction. Useful it is as a foundation, but never should it be the temple structure in which man pays reverence to the annals of the race. The articles here set forth are subject contributions. In them are reviewed the State's successes and failures in the many important fields of human activity. To mirror the past for profit in the future, perhaps for instruction, information and entertainment in the present, certainly is well worth while.

The members of The State Historical Society of Missouri, readers of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and all truly public-spirited citizens of the State, are under appreciative obligations to the authors of these historical articles. These contributors have labored long and faithfully. All are men of prominence in their work, some are deeply absorbed in an active business life, others in an exacting professional career. To take not hours, but days, weeks and months from their

regular duties in order to compile these historical sketches, is deserving of high commendation.

Beginning in the April and following issues of the *Review* of this year will appear these articles:

A Century of Missouri Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions, by Dr. Isidor Loeb;

Personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, by Floyd C. Shoemaker;

A Century of Missouri Art, by Prof. J. S. Ankeney;

A Century of Banking and Finance in Missouri (continued from January, 1920, *Review*), by Breckinridge Jones;

Missourians and the Nation During the Last Century, by Hon. Champ Clark;

A Missouri Historical Calendar, by Miss Buel Leopard;

A Century of Library Growth in Missouri, by Lucius H. Cannon;

Military Missouri During the Last Century, by Major D. F. Thompson;

The Followers of Duden (continued from the April-July 1920 *Review*), by William G. Bek.

Missourians in Japan, by Dr. S. H. Wainwright;

Missourians in China, by J. B. Powell;

The Missouri-Mississippi Railroad Debt, by Prof. E. M. Violette.

COMMENTS.

"As a former magazine editor, I wish to congratulate you upon the October issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. In the articles, in the editorial matter, and in the printer's work, it is first class in every respect and is a credit to both editor and publisher."

Judge John D. Lawson,
Author and Scholar,
Columbia, Missouri,
September 23, 1920.

"I think the October number of the *Review* is the best ever. The *Review* has been getting better every issue for a long time. I thought the April-July number was the climax, but I believe the October number is still better."

C. H. McClure, Head of History Dept.,
Central Missouri State Teachers College,
Warrensburg, Missouri, September 27, 1920.

"To my thanks for the two copies of *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, just received, I add my congratulations on your editorial success in realizing the opportunities of Missouri's Centennial."

W. V. Byars, Author and Journalist,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 20, 1920.

"I want to congratulate you upon the articles composing the Centennial number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and I am sure all the subscribers will appreciate the labor which they represent."

Edw. J. White, Vice-Pres. and General
Solicitor, Missouri Pacific Railroad Co.,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 21, 1920.

"I have the Missouri Centennial *Review* for October and consider it a very valuable addition to my library."

Mrs. Ella Morton Child, Historian of Local
D. A. R. Chapter, Richmond, Missouri,
November 16, 1920.

"I add my congratulations on the work the Society is doing through your supervision of its press."

W. V. Byars, Author and Journalist,
St. Louis, Missouri, November 22, 1920.

"I am in receipt of the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review* and thank you for it. 'I have enjoyed reading it very much.'"

H. K. White, Lawyer, 501 South 11th St.,
St. Joseph, Missouri, November 22, 1920.

"I find *The Missouri Historical Review* more and more interesting and useful."

Mary A. Keefe, Braymer, Missouri,
November 22, 1920.

"I am a little late in congratulating you on the last issue of the *Review*, but the lapse of time is in itself a compliment since it shows how long I have kept in mind the excellence of the magazine."

J. Breckenridge Ellis, Author and Former
President Missouri Writers, Guild, Platts-
burg, Missouri, October 21, 1920.

"Congratulations on the excellent program of the *Review*."

Father John Rothenstienner, Author and
Historian, St. Louis, Missouri,
September 2, 1920.

"Please advise me of date my subscription expires and I shall remit. My grandfather settled in Cooper county 107 years ago. My mother and I were born and reared in old Cooper county. I am 78 years old. Of course I want the *Review*."

Wm. E. Walton, Banker,
Butler, Missouri, September 18, 1920.

"I certainly enjoyed the *Review* and will look forward to your October number with much anticipated pleasure. I always recommend it to any one having any interest in the past and present of our State."

Samuel W. Ravenel,
New Franklin, Missouri,
May 28, 1920.

"May I congratulate you upon your October *Review*? I feel that it is indeed a valuable volume to add to my library."

Harry L. Thomas, President,
The Republican-Record Printing Co.,
Carrollton, Missouri,
September 18, 1920.

"The Centennial number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has just been received. It is a splendid number. Much credit is due you for the excellent work being done by the State Historical Society."

Ralph O. Stauber, Attorney-at-Law,
American Nat'l Bank Building,
St. Joseph, Missouri, October 2, 1920.

"*The Missouri Historical Review* is a real magazine of our State. It is the peer of any similar publication in this country."

Mrs. Augustus Henry Payne,
A Former Missourian,
Little Falls, New Jersey,
September 20, 1920.

"I have just received the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and as a native Missourian I am proud of such a publication."

W. L. Skaggs, Teacher and Historian,
Paragould, Arkansas, September 20, 1920.

"The October number of the *Review* just received is a splendid number."

James F. Green, General Attorney,
Missouri Pacific R. R. Co.,
St. Louis, Missouri, September 23, 1920.

SOCIETY PROGRESS, 1919-1920.

The State Historical Society of Missouri today ranks first in active pay members compared with similar institutions west of the Mississippi river, according to the Tenth Biennial Report of the Society for 1919 and 1920 recently submitted to the Fifty-first General Assembly. During these two years the Society's active pay membership increased over 100%. The total during this time was 1,685 as follows: 1 honorary, 10 corresponding, 133 exchange, 1057 annual, and 484 editorial. Two years ago the Society ranked fourth in active membership west of the Mississippi. It was then proposed to have this institution rank first west of the Mississippi within two years, first west of the Allegheny mountains in four years, and first in the United States in six years. The first goal has been passed, and only three societies stand opposing this institution in reaching the second goal. It is now proposed to shorten the time and quicken the pace for first rank west of Pittsburgh by the close of 1921. With the cooperation of the Society's present members, this can be accomplished.

In total size of library this Society ranks second west of the Mississippi compared to similar organizations, and third in separate titles. During 1919 and 1920, 6,350 books and 12,756 pamphlets were donated and 612 books and 30 pamphlets were purchased. The Society's present library consists of 145,406 books and pamphlets, of which 39,150 are accessioned books and 34,000 are separate title pamphlets.

During these years the Society's collection of bound Missouri newspapers increased by 1,642 volumes, a gain of 17%. The Society is now receiving 542 Missouri newspapers, these come from 295 towns and cities, and represent the 114 counties and the city of St. Louis. It now has 10,878 bound volumes of this class of material.

The completion of the work of preserving by special silk process the old files of the *Missouri Intelligencer* was accomplished. The file of this paper from 1819 to 1835 is now so treated for posterity's use, as well as the old files of the

Columbia Patriot and part of the file of the *Missouri Statesman*.

Since the Society did not have the original of the file of the old *Missouri Gazette*, of St. Louis, the first newspaper published in Missouri, and could not purchase this file, it was forced to forego use of same or have copy made. The latter has been done for 1819 to 1828 inclusive, by photostatic process by the library of Congress, in Washington, D. C. It is planned to continue this valuable work.

During this last biennium the Society through *The Missouri Historical Review* has published 1,107 pages of solid historical matter on the State. In addition, the Society will publish this month, as a capstone of its last two years of work, the two volumes on the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*.

In war work, the Society has 11,000 names on file of Missouri casualties and war heroes. These are carded and arranged in a double classification—alphabetically by names for the entire State, and also by counties. In addition, it has 6,000 clippings relating to these subjects. The correspondence of the Missouri Council of Defense were also obtained during these two years.

JOHNSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the initiative of Prof. C. H. McClure, of the Central Missouri State Teachers College, a meeting of the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri living in Johnson county and of a number of other interested citizens in the county, was called at Warrensburg on July 16, 1920. At this meeting was organized a Johnson County Historical Society with the following officers: Prof. C. H. McClure, of Warrensburg, president; Mr. O. G. Boisseau, of Holden, secretary; and Mr. A. L. Smiser, of Warrensburg, treasurer. The constitution of the new society provided for local branch societies, as many as may best be organized. An executive committee consisting of at least five members was provided, one from each local branch and an additional member to be added for each local to be organized in the future. The locals

immediately organized were in Chilhowee, Holden and Warrensburg. The dues of the members were placed at \$1.50, of which \$1.00 is to be used in paying memberships for each member in the State Historical Society and 50 cents for the county organization. By this provision there is a direct relationship between the county and the state historical societies. This plan is unique. Its excellent feature is obvious and it is this feature which is lacking in most local historical societies—a unity of interest and work between the individual in the community, the individual as a member of the county organization and as a member of the State body. It is an adaption of political organizations to historical purposes.

Johnson county has been one of the most progressive counties in the State. In historical work, aside from other public spirited citizens, mention should be made of the great work performed by Professor McClure and Mr. Boisseau. Professor McClure has on his own initiative canvassed a large portion of the district of the Central Missouri State Teachers College and has added over 100 members to the State Historical Society of Missouri. Mr. Boisseau has done the same work in his own town, Holden, and the immediate vicinity. As a result of this initiative and public spirited cooperation, Johnson county and the neighboring district have worked up a remarkable interest in State history, State pride and State progress. At present the membership in the Chilhowee local is 12; in Holden, 25; and in Warrensburg, 65. This gives the Johnson County Historical Society a membership of over one hundred after only six months organization. It is planned to double this membership during 1921.

A copy of the constitution of this progressive society is here set forth as a guide to those members of The State Historical Society of Missouri living in other counties who are contemplating effecting similar societies in their communities.

We, citizens of Johnson county, Missouri, hereby adopt a constitution and by-laws, as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. The name of this body shall be the Johnson County Historical Society.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The objects of this body shall be as follows:

1. To disseminate a knowledge of the history of the State and of the events incident to its admission to the Union.

2. To stimulate and encourage the study of the history of this county, its towns and subdivisions.

3. To accept the invitation extended by the State Historical Society of Missouri to become an auxiliary member of that society and through a delegate or by correspondence to make an annual report to that society of the work of this society.

4. To do honor to those patriotic men and women who secured the admission of this State into the Union and those sturdy pioneers of this county who braved the hardships to lay the foundation for our present prosperity and happiness.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. Original.—The original membership shall consist of those who are present at the first meeting and assist in the organization of the society.

Section 2. How acquired.—Men and women may be elected to membership upon application, by an affirmative majority vote of the members present.

Section 3. How terminated.—Membership in this society shall be terminated by (1) resignation; (2) failure for 90 days to pay any amount which may be due the Society; (3) unanimous vote, less five, of all the members at any regular meeting, or (4) by death.

ARTICLE IV.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. Enumeration.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary.

Section 2. Term of office.—The term of office shall be one year and until a successor is chosen and assumes the duties of office which may be immediately after election. A vacancy in the office of President shall be filled by Vice-President assuming the duties till the next annual meeting of this society.

In the event that the President and Vice-President shall be absent or disqualified for any reason, the Secretary shall act during the absence or inability of the foregoing officers.

ARTICLE V.

Section 1. President.—The duties of the President shall be to (1) preside at meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee meetings; (2) appoint the members of the Committees; (3) transact the business of the Society between the meetings of the Executive Committee and this Society, and such other duties usually pertaining to the office of President of the organization.

Section 2. Vice-President.—The duties of the Vice-President shall be to perform the duties of the President in his absence or upon his oral or written request and to assume the Presidency in the event the office is vacated by the President and to hold till the next annual meeting of this Society.

Section 3. Treasurer.—The duties of the Treasurer shall be to keep all moneys belonging to the Society on deposit in some bank in this county and to pay out same on warrant drawn by the President and to make an annual report to the Society of the condition of the finances of the Society or oftener when required by the President or Executive Committee or Society.

Section 4. Secretary.—The duties of the Secretary shall be to record the proceedings of the meetings of the Executive Committee and the Society; conduct the correspondence of the Society; report the proceedings to the newspapers and to the State Historical Society; and perform such other duties as required by the Executive Committee or the Society.

ARTICLE VI.—COMMITTEES.

Section 1. Enumeration.—The committees of this Society shall consist of: (1) Early history of this County; (2) Sketches of pioneer men and women; (3) Centennial celebrations; and (4) Executive Committee and such other committees as the Executive Committee or this Society may authorize.

Section 2. Number of members.—The Executive Committee shall consist of at least five members of which the President, Treasurer and Secretary shall be ex officio members. The auxiliary branches shall be entitled each to one member on the Executive Committee. The other committees shall consist of three members unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Committee from time to time.

Section 3. Calling of meetings.—Meetings of the respective committees may be called by the Chairmen or by three members and three days' notice must be given to each member, but nothing herein shall prevent the meeting of a committee at any time when all are present or represented by proxy. The President of the Society may call any committee together at his discretion by giving the required notice.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF COMMITTEES.

Section 1. Executive Committee.—The Executive Committee shall: (1) keep a record in the minute book of the Society of all of its proceedings and reports received and cause such minutes and reports to be read at each meeting of this Society; (2) remove committeemen who fail to perform their duties and appoint their successors; (3) appoint special committees when deemed necessary; (4) consider at each meeting the subject of finance to the end that no debts be incurred; and (5) between meetings of the Society conduct all other business. (6) The Executive Committee shall have power to institute auxiliary societies at any point in the country with a membership of seven or more.

ARTICLE VIII.—QUORUM.

Section 1. Society.—A quorum of this Society shall consist of the members who shall assemble at a time and place which shall have been designated by written call or published notice fifteen days in advance by the President, Executive Committee or Society.

Section 2. Executive Committee.—A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of the members present who may assemble at a time and place which shall have been designated five days in advance by the President or a majority of the committee; or at the time and place fixed by resolution for holding the regular meeting.

Section 3. Committees.—A quorum of each of the committees shall consist of the members thereof who shall assemble at the time and place which shall have been designated five days previous to the date of such meeting by a note mailed to the respective members by the President, chairman of such committee or three members thereof.

Section 4. Proxies.—Members of committees and of the Society may be represented at meetings by proxies.

ARTICLE IX.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. Constitution.—The constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Society whenever a notice containing substantially the proposed change shall have been mailed postage prepaid, to the members of the Society ten days in advance of the meeting, at which it is proposed it shall be changed.

Section 2. By-laws.—The by-laws may be amended at any meeting by two-thirds affirmative vote.

BY-LAWS

JOHNSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
ANNUAL MEETINGS.

Section 1. The annual meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Monday after the first Tuesday in July of each year, at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall designate by resolution.

REGULAR MEETINGS.

Section 2. The time and place for holding regular meetings shall be determined by resolution of the Executive Committee.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

Section 3. Special meetings of the Society may be held at any time and place upon call by the President on the Executive Committee, but the business of such meetings shall be confined to substantially the subjects stated in the call.

NOTICE OF MEETINGS.

Section 4. Notice of annual, regular and special meetings may be given by publishing the same in at least three newspapers published in the county at least ten days before such meeting or by sending a copy of the notice to each member of the society to his postoffice address. Notice of all such meetings of this Society shall be mailed to the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri at the same time such notice is given to the members of this Society.

ANNUAL DUES.

Section 5. The annual dues of members shall be \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 of the same to be paid to the State Historical Society for membership fees and \$.50 for dues to this society. Dues are payable in advance and the year to date from the annual meeting in July.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Section 6. The order of business at meetings of this Society may be as follows:

1. Call to order.
2. Roll call.
3. Reading, consideration, correction, if necessary, and approval of unapproved proceedings of former meetings.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of committees.
6. Miscellaneous business.
7. Adjournment.

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY.

Section 7. The authority in parliamentary procedure except as otherwise provided from time to time by this Society shall be Roberts' Rules of Order.

MONEY.

Section 8. Liability shall not be created unless the money to pay them is in the hands of the Treasurer. All liabilities created when money for payment of them is not in the hands of the Treasurer shall be liabilities of those creating them and not of the Society.

BUCHANAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of some of the progressive citizens of St. Joseph, called on the suggestion of Mrs. Louise Platt Hauck and Col. Joseph A. Corby on October 21, 1920, temporary organization was effected for a Buchanan County Historical Society. Col. Corby was elected temporary president, and Miss Mary Louise Reichert, temporary secretary. Commenting on the new movement, the *St. Joseph News-Press* in its editorial column said this in part:

"The recent formation of the Buchanan County Historical Society marks a step so necessary to the city's development that it is the occasion of surprise that such a society has not been founded long since. St. Joseph is rich in historical associations and it is time that a systematic beginning should be made in gathering the data and records relating to her early history. Every day of delay means the loss of documents and relics of value.

"Valuable collections have been offered to the city if only suitable housing can be provided. . . . Ordinances and legal documents that might otherwise be lost could here be carefully preserved and would become invaluable. . . . This is on the monetary side of the question but there is a value in the preservation of the chronicles of any community that far transcends material reckoning. It involves a consciousness of worth that is an inspiration to the future. An essayist quoted at the formation of the society expresses the idea in words that can profitably be pondered: 'A people who will not honor their history will make little history to honor.'

"The Society should be founded on permanent lines with full appreciation of the responsibility and worth of its mission. It deserves hearty public support in whatever plan of action it decides to pursue."

The enthusiasm aroused permitted a call for a meeting for permanent organization on November 18, 1920. At this meeting a petition for incorporation bearing the signatures of 117 men and women of St. Joseph was signed. This petition was filed with the circuit court. Permanent organization was effected with the adoption of a constitution and by-laws and the election of permanent officers. Colonel J. A. Corby was elected president; Herschel Bartlett, vice president; W. F. Dyer, secretary; and Houston Wyeth and Harry L. Graham, members of the executive committee. The next meeting of the Society was held on December 2, 1920, at which time the membership had risen to 165. The Society's primary goal of members is 500 and this number is expected to be obtained before the close of 1921. Of the Buchanan County Society membership over 100 have affiliated with The State Historical Society, giving St. Joseph the largest percentage of members of any large city in the State. Judging from the enthusiasm of the leading men and women of St. Joseph, which was noted by the editor on his visit to that city in October, it seems certain that the Buchanan County Historical Society will soon be one of the strongest local organizations of its kind in the Middle West. This organization has every asset necessary to such success. It has the fundamental basis of a citizenry of high culture and public spirit. It has the second fundamental asset of invaluable historical lore and tradition stretching back into the past nearly a century. And, finally, it has the men and women of means and ability necessary to guide such an institution. Without being too optimistic, it seems to us that the Buchanan County Historical Society has an exceptionally bright future and will eventually accomplish not only a widespread educational work of value but will lay the foundation for a permanent organization of lasting worth to Buchanan county.

BATES COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On December 17, 1920, temporary organization was effected for a Bates County Historical Society at Butler, Missouri. Professor C. H. McClure, of the Central Missouri

State Teachers College, at Warrensburg, Missouri, was present and after explaining the work of the Johnson County Historical Society and its relation to the State Historical Society of Missouri, temporary officers were elected for the Bates County Society. Judge Charles A. Denton of Butler was elected temporary president, and a committee on membership was appointed to begin active work in January, 1921. Sometime during the latter part of this month permanent organization will be effected and an effort will be made to secure the cooperation of all public-spirited citizens of Bates county in the preservation and dissemination of historical information relating to that community and the State of Missouri. The location of old Harmony Mission and Halleys Bluff within Bates county makes that district of peculiar historical significance. The exploitation of these historic sites will be one of the purposes of the Bates County Society.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT MARSHALL.

On May 26, 1920, the Missouri Valley College at Marshall, Missouri, presented to a large audience a Missouri historical pageant. The program was of decided interest and merit, and the celebration was very much appreciated. The pageant was given under the auspices of Dean C. L. Fichthorn, of the School of Music. All local organizations of Marshall, as the D. A. R., U. D. C., the High School and the Missouri Valley College, entered into active cooperation.

Prof. Thaddeus R. Brenton, of the English Department of the University of Missouri, assisted as dramatic manager. Dr. W. H. Black, president of Missouri Valley College, is responsible for this worthwhile celebration. Dr. Black has long been interested in Missouri history, and has been especially active in forwarding the Missouri centennial movement.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT WARRENSBURG.

One of the most successful celebrations commemorative of Missouri's centennial and of Missouri history was given at Warrensburg on July 16, 1920. This was a pageant

adapted from the pageant given in Columbia on March 25 by the University of Missouri and The State Historical Society of Missouri. The pageant at Warrensburg was given by the training school students in the Central Missouri State Teachers College and by the high school students of Warrensburg. A few parts were supplied by students from the college. No attempt was made to give the pageant a professional aspect. It was held on an out-door stage and was free to everybody. The attendance was over 3,000 persons. The historic and human interest in the pageant was absorbing. In fact, it was said that the pageant drew the largest crowd that was ever seen on the campus of the Central Missouri State Teachers College.

STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION ENDORSED HISTORICAL WORK.

These resolutions adopted by the Missouri State Teachers' Association at its meeting in Kansas City on Nov. 10, 1920, are indicative of the new birth of State pride and State interest in Missouri history:

"We recommend cooperation with the State Historical Society of Missouri relative to the observance of Missouri's First Centennial, and we urge all teachers to aid in the organization of Local Historical Societies affiliated with the State Society to the end that permanent interest in State History be fostered and the historical data of the State preserved.

"We respectfully request the State Fair Board to set aside the entire Educational Building for school exhibits and school purposes. We believe that all the elementary schools, high schools and State schools should participate in a great exhibit for the Centennial Year. We direct the attention of the Community Associations to the opportunity thus presented for advertising the schools of Missouri in connection with the Centennial Exhibit."

As complimentary to the declarations of the State teaching body, are the following resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government held at Kansas City, Nov. 12, 1920:

"Believing that the Teachers of History in the High Schools of the State are or should be especially interested in the history of

the State of Missouri, we, the members of the Missouri Society of History and Government, hereby request the State Historical Society to bring to the attention of the History Teachers in the High Schools of the State *The Missouri Historical Review* with the aim that these teachers shall undertake to see that files of the *Review* are placed in the High School Libraries.

"We further request that the State Historical Society furnish each History teacher in the State with a detailed schedule of the local Historical information which may be successfully collected by the Teacher.

"In view of the approaching centennial celebration we desire to congratulate the editor of *School and Community* for his consideration in dealing with the celebration, and request that if possible a whole number be devoted in the near future to the History of the State and to the centennial celebration."

A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO MEMBERS.

For the first time in its history this Society reached and passed the one-thousand mark of active pay members. Older members of this institution will recall how its membership fluctuated between 350 and 550 during the decade of 1908-1918. Compared to other similar societies in the Mississippi Valley, this was not a poor record. In fact, it was a good one. Beginning with 1919 we began to seriously consider if not only this Society but all historical societies were interesting more than a very small percentage of their potential prospects. We determined to double the active membership of your Society in 1919 and 1920. It was realized that this could be done only through two means: first, through a *Missouri Historical Review* that was truly instructive and interesting; second, through an active, cooperative campaign on the part of the secretary and the present members of the Society. It is no more than justice to our contributors to state that today *The Missouri Historical Review* has greatly improved, and it is the purpose of the editor to continue this progress. As a result of this improvement and the public-spirited cooperation of many members, the Society has actually doubled its active membership in two years. Special mention and thanks are due the following members who have contributed so largely to this record: Prof. C. H. McClure, of Warrensburg;

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O. G. Boisseau, of Holden; Col. Joseph A. Corby, Judge Vinton Pike, and Mrs. Louise Platt Hauck, of St. Joseph; Mr. and Mrs. John T. Milbank, of Chillicothe; Mr. Edw. J. White, of St. Louis; Mr. Geo. A. Mahan, of Hannibal; Mr. A. B. Cleveland, of Breckenridge; Mr. C. F. Ridings, of Hamilton; Mr. J. A. Selby, of Gallatin; Messrs. James Todd and J. F. Hull, of Maryville; Mr. John C. Staple, of Rockport; Senator Geo. W. Glick, of Mound City; Mr. A. F. McCray, of Cowgill; and Hon S. H. O'Fallon, of Oregon.

Looking the facts in the face, however, although not minimizing the fact that this Society today has the largest active membership of any historical society west of the Mississippi river, does it appear to any member of this Society that the great field of historical education in Missouri has been more than scratched on the surface? Here is a commonwealth of three and a half million persons. Why should not such a State have five thousand members in its State Historical Society, aside from exchange and editorial members? We believe that every member will agree with us in placing this as a minimum figure. It will take time, perhaps several years, and work, and a good publication, to obtain this result, but with your help and active assistance it can be done.

The goal for 1921 is 2,000 active members. Here are a list of Missouri towns now having five or more members in the Society:

Bolivar.....	7	Kansas City.....	56
Bowling Green.....	6	Kirksville.....	14
Braymer.....	5	Lees Summit.....	6
Breckenridge.....	6	Lexington.....	7
Butler.....	6	Liberty.....	6
Cameron.....	9	Macon.....	9
Cape Girardeau.....	16	Marshall.....	5
Carrollton.....	5	Maryville.....	11
Chillicothe.....	35	Mound City.....	7
Columbia.....	51	Oregon.....	8
Fayette.....	7	Otterville.....	6
Fulton.....	6	Sedalia.....	13
Gallatin.....	11	Springfield.....	11
Hamilton.....	8	St. Joseph.....	106
Hannibal.....	20	St. Louis.....	128
Holden.....	10	Warrensburg.....	62
Independence.....	11		
Jefferson City.....	12		

Among the large cities in the State, St. Joseph with her 106 members has the largest percentage based on population. Among all cities over five thousand, Warrensburg with her 62 members (1.1% of her population) has the largest percentage. Otterville with 6 members has the highest percentage (1.32%) of any town in the State.

It cannot be expected that the very large cities will ever be able to furnish such percentages as Warrensburg and Otterville, but certainly all except these could furnish one per cent. If this were done, it would add over 2,000 members. An additional 2,000 should come from St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph. At the present rate of growth St. Joseph alone will have over 500 members in this Society within five years.

The membership blank enclosed is for your use. If you enjoy your affiliation with this Society, find interest and value in the *Review*, and are desirous of seeing Missourians informed on their own annals—have some friend, who is not a member, fill out this blank and mail same to this Society. Your cooperation will result in Missouri taking first rank in the field of popular, historical education. No better or more lasting initial commemoration of Missouri's centennial year could be observed than this.

MISSOURI UTOPIAS.

Men of all ages have dreamed of establishing a community where economic, social and political equality should exist among its members. Many such communities have been established in the United States, some of them meeting with a greater or less degree of success—the Amana Society, the Perfectionists, the Harmonists, the Icarians, and others. Missouri, as well as other states in the Union, has furnished homes for those who believed in communism as the logical basis of society. The most noted of these Missouri experiments was the colony established at Bethel, in Shelby county, by Dr. William Keil. Several years ago a most excellent article was written on this community by Dr. William G. Bek and was published in *The Missouri Historical Review*.

Very little, however, has been written concerning other communities. The State Historical Society proposes to collect all available material on this subject and publish the results in a series of articles in the *Review*.

In addition to the Bethel community, these Missouri communistic experiments are known: the Icarian community at Cheltenham; the Altruist Community at St. Louis, and the Home Employment Company at Long Lane. Dallas county was also the home of Friendship Community, established in 1872, and a society was formed at New Madrid in 1817 to carry out communistic ideas and was known as the Fanatical Pilgrims. The communistic features of the Mormon settlements in Missouri will also be considered. The material at hand on these experiments is, in most instances, very meagre. We shall therefore be grateful to our readers for any information which they may be able to furnish or for any sources of material to which they may refer us. We should have, if possible, the following data concerning each, sketch of the life and reminiscences of the founder, history, number of members, terms of admission, amount and value of property held, business methods, industries pursued, system of government, religious creeds, social customs, type of people, comparison with people in the same section of the country but outside the colony as regards social and economic position; causes of success or failure of the experiments. Moreover, there have been, no doubt, other examples of communism in the State. The foregoing data is also requested and desired concerning any other communities which may have existed in the State. Address all communications to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri.

COUNTY HOSPITALS IN MISSOURI.

In its march of progress, the State of Missouri enacted a statute in 1917, (see Session Acts of Mo. 1917, pages 145 to 150), which provides that the county court shall, upon petition of one hundred taxpayers, submit to the qualified voters of the county the question of establishing and operating a

county hospital, and the issuing of bonds to pay for the same. These bonds must be issued for a term of not exceeding twenty years, and must be sold for not less than their par value. The county hospital shall be open to practitioners of all recognized schools of medicine, and no physician shall have preference over any other. An annual tax shall then be levied for the support of the county hospital and for the payment of the bonds, and the county court shall appoint five hospital trustees, who shall have the power to fix the terms upon which patients may be admitted to the hospital, and also to determine who are charity patients. The first hospital trustees are appointed by the county court; and afterwards, at the general election, the voters shall elect the trustees, not more than three of whom shall live in the town or city where it is proposed to locate such hospital. Up to the present time, three counties have taken advantage of this statute—Audrain, Callaway and Boone; and hospital buildings are well under way in these counties.

At a special election, held on July 1, 1918, the voters of Audrain county decided, by a vote of three to one, to erect and equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred dollars. The first board of hospital trustees are J. W. Dry, Fred Pilcher and Nathan Phillips, of Mexico; Joseph Considine, of Thompson, and John S. Gatson, of Vandalia. The hospital is located on one acre of ground on East Monroe street in Mexico, and it will be completed about January 1, 1921.

At the general election in 1918, the voters of Callaway county decided, by a vote of four to one, to erect and equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred dollars. The first board of hospital trustees are Judge David H. Harris, Jesse L. Maughs and W. E. Jamerson, of Fulton; E. L. Shely, of New Bloomfield; and Haydon Duncan, of Millersburg. The hospital is located on one acre of ground on Nichols street in Fulton, and it will be completed about April 1, 1921.

At a special election, held on April 29, 1919, the voters of Boone county decided, by a vote of three to one, to erect and

equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred thousand dollars. After learning that that sum would not be sufficient, the Boone county voters decided, by a vote of three and one half to one, to issue seventy-five thousand dollars additional bonds to complete the hospital. The first board of hospital trustees are H. H. Banks and N. T. Gentry, of Columbia; Wm. O. Ellis, of Ashland; Thos. P. Brown, of Hallsville; and Dennis Spellman, of Sturgeon. The hospital is located on four acres of ground on East Broadway in Columbia, and it will be completed about October 1, 1921.

It is to be hoped that many other counties of Missouri will follow the good example set by Audrain, Callaway and Boone.

N. T. Gentry, of Columbia, Missouri.

THE U. S. GRANT CABIN.

Historic association will ever attach to the old U. S. Grant farm and cabin in Missouri. The farm was given to Mrs. Grant by her father, Col. Dent, of St. Louis. On it lived the great man who was to assume leadership of the Union forces and later to serve his country eight years as its chief executive. This letter from Mr. F. A. Weber, of Nursery, Missouri, was written to Mrs. Eugene Marsh, of Webster Grove, Missouri, on February 7, 1920. It is of value and interest.

"In the *Watchman Advocate*, February 6th, I note with interest what your organization 'The Daughters of 1812' are doing.

"Thinking that I might be able to give you some information on the General U. S. Grant Cabin, is the reason I am writing you this letter. There seems to be considerable confusion in regard to the Grant Cabin and in order to set some of these errors right, I will give you a history of it, as given me by my father and from my own knowledge.

"The General Grant Cabin was built on the farm our company now owns and was built in the 50's. My grandfather, Charles Weber, was a cabinet maker who purchased the property now occupied by our company and was one of the neighbors who helped to erect the Grant Cabin, on our present Grant farm property. He made the window frames, sash and doors by hand; as there were no planing mills at that time.

"My father, who died about four years ago, knew General Grant personally, having as a boy ridden on his daily loads of wood from the farm and was a staunch supporter of Grant when a candidate for President.

"We purchased the original Grant farm in 1889 from Capt. Luther H. Conn, but in the deed Capt. Conn reserved the right to remove the Cabin within two years. Shortly after purchasing the farm Capt. Conn took his daughter (now Mrs. Hammer) to the Orient. About one and one-half years after we purchased the property and while Mr. Conn was still abroad, the Cabin was sold to Mr. Justing E. Joy of Old Orchard, for, as was stated at that time, a consideration of \$500.00.

"Mr. Joy immediately began the taking down the Cabin and numbering each log and taking all chinking and stone over to Old Orchard, where the building was erected and a high fence put around it, to which I understand Mr. Joy collected an admittance fee from people wanting to see the Grant-Cabin.

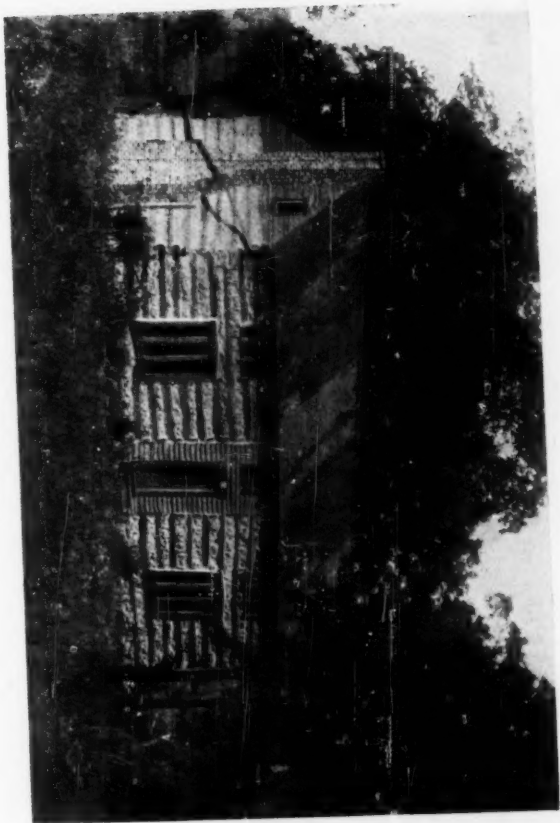
"Just before our St. Louis World's Fair, Mr. Joy sold the Cabin to Mr. C. F. Blanke of 'Coffee Fame.' Mr. Blanke then removed the Cabin to a site in the World's Fair Grounds and used same as an advertising medium in advertising Blanke's Coffee. After the Fair was over Mr. Blanke was at a loss to know what to do with the Cabin and as there seemed to be no way of getting the city authorities together and maintaining the Cabin in Forest Park, Mr. Auguste A. Busch decided to purchase it from Mr. C. F. Blanke.

"Mr. Auguste A. Busch, immediately removed the Cabin to its present site on the Auguste A. Busch grounds on the Gravois road.

"This original Grant Farm is the property we own. This is the property that was given to Mrs. Julia Dent Grant as a wedding gift. This happened in the 50's, when on account of the diverse opinions of Grant and his father-in-law regarding the slave question, it got so that it was not very pleasant living under the same roof with Col. Dent. This is why Mr. Dent gave the property north of the Rock Hill road to his daughter as her property.

"The neighbors helped to erect the Cabin and thus it became the Grant farm. After a few years' effort at farming General Grant decided to move to his old home in Illinois, as he was still too close to the Dent home. Later on the war broke out and history gives Grant's record from that time on.

"The property now owned by Mr. Auguste A. Busch, Mr. Albert Wenlick and the Gibson heirs, was known as the Dent farm and is of record as the White Haven Farm by which it was known at that time.



GRANT'S LOG CABIN
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

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"After Grant became President he lifted the mortgage on the Dent farm, which had been heavily mortgaged during the war, and it then all became the Grant Farm. Grant immediately started a stock farm and imported fancy cattle and horses from England, France, etc., with a view of bringing in better grades of stock into this community. My father received from President Grant an Aldeney heifer as a gift. I remember well the day this calf was given to my father.

"Later on when Grant had his heavy losses in the bank failure the entire property was turned over to the Vanderbilts in payment of a debt. The Vanderbilts held the estate for a number of years renting it out to tenants who pastured and farmed the land. It was then sold to Capt. Luther H. Conn, who was acting for the Gibson heirs and from whom we purchased our present farm a few years later.

"When Capt. Conn was in Egypt with his daughter there was considerable talk of the Government purchasing the Cabin and leaving it where it was originally constructed. My father, Henry J. Weber, at that time offered to dedicate to the United States Government sufficient ground so as to maintain the Cabin as a historical site; but this was never accepted. We made an offer to Capt. Conn before he sold the house to Mr. Joy, that if he would give the house, we would give the property and deed to the United States Government to maintain as a memorial. This was also not accepted by Col. Conn and the Gibson heirs. Thus the building was removed before the two year time limit had expired.

"The original grove of oak trees, some hickories, the old cistern and the hole where the cellar originally was, can still be seen on our Grant farm property.

"If your organization should at any time wish to verify the above statements or would like to make a pilgrimage to the old site of the Cabin, we will be glad to arrange to meet with you and take you over this property.

"We believe it will be an inspiration to you and may be of considerable help to you in the notable work you are doing to preserve historical sites in and around St. Louis."

CORRECTION.

The following corrections should be made to the article "A Century of Transportation in Missouri," by Mr. Edw. J. White, which appeared in the October, 1920, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. Our attention was called to these errors by the author.

On page 150, the word "released" in the fifth line from the top should be eliminated and the word "foreclosed" substituted therefor.

On page 151, the sixth word in the eighteenth line from the top of the page; the letter "l" is omitted from the word "Civil" before "War."

On page 153, the date "July 4th, 1850," in the fourth line from the top of the page, should be "July 4th, 1851."

On page 155, sixth line from the top, the increase in passenger fares should be "one-half of a cent per mile" instead of "one-half of one per cent."

On page 156, the word "the " in the ninth line from the top should be transposed from before the word "agencies" to before the word "transportation."

On page 158, in the twenty-first line from the top of the page, the aggregate number of automobiles in the State of Missouri, should be put at "over 300,000," in numerals, and the "\$242,723.00" should be eliminated.

ON MISSOURI LITERATURE.

This letter was received from Mr. John A. Bryan, of St. Louis, Missouri, who is a member of The State Historical Society. Letters from members are always welcomed by the editor and will be gladly reproduced when they pertain to the history of Missouri and Missourians.

"I have received my copy of the Centennial Number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and have found it most interesting and valuable as a historical document. However, I must say that, in my opinion, Dr. DeMenil's article does not do justice to the first century of literature in Missouri.

"Why did he not include Winston Churchill, who was born in St. Louis and lived here during the early part of his life? No American writer has given us more delightful delineations of Missouri than this writer, in *The Crisis* and again in *The Inside of the Cup*.

"Whose short stories demand the highest price in the literary market today? Those of a young Missouri woman, Fanny Hurst, who was born in St. Louis, and educated at our own Washington University. Moreover, her first stories were brought to the attention of the literary world by a brilliant Missouri editor, the late William Marion Reedy, who isn't even given a line in Dr. DeMenil's sketch, although he had brought out more literary geniuses than any other American editor of this generation.

"Then there is Sara Teasdale, beyond doubt one of the most brilliant poets in America today. Columbia University in New York awarded the prize for the best poetry written during 1918 to this young Missouri woman.

"Again, there is Mary Dillon, who wrote *The Rose of Old St. Louis* and other delightful novels. Mrs. Dillon is still living in St. Louis, and should certainly be included in the list of Missouri's authors.

"Another successful Missouri writer is William H. Hamby, who has lived the greater part of his life in this State, and who was educated at Drury College, in Springfield, Missouri. Readers of *The Saturday Evening Post* and other eastern magazines can testify to Mr. Hamby's ability as a story writer.

"All of the above-mentioned writers are included in *Who's Who in America*.

"An article on Missouri's literature might also include mention of Mrs. John Curran, whose writings under the name "Patience Worth," have received most favorable comment from the Eastern critics. Mrs. Curran resided in St. Louis until a short time ago, and her early writings were done here.

"Harold Bell Wright is another who should be mentioned, for many of his stories are of Missouri people, in the Ozarks, and he himself resided in this State when some of his earlier novels were brought out. He was formerly a preacher at Lebanon, Missouri and also held a pastorate at Pierce City, Missouri, before removing to Arizona.

"I have one correction to make in connection with Dr. DeMenil's article—on page 98, the paragraph concerning George Warder. I knew this man personally, so am sure of my ground when I offer this correction:

"Mr. Warder died in Kansas City, Missouri—not in New York—and his death occurred in January, 1907—not two or three years ago. Before going to Kansas City to reside, Mr. Warder had lived in Chillicothe, Missouri, for several years, and was brought back there to be buried by the side of his wife, who was a Miss McWilliams of that city.

"Mr. Warder built the 'Warder Grand' theater in Kansas City, at 9th and Harrison Streets. Although it is now known as 'The Auditorium,' the name 'Warder Grand' is still carved in the stone above the main entrance. It seems to me this should be mentioned because the 'Warder Grand' was the largest theater in the West at the time it was built; in fact it was too large for Kansas City, as Mr. Warder later found, to his sorrow, for he never recovered from the financial loss involved in that undertaking."

DESCENDANT OF A MISSOURI PIONEER.

The letter here set forth contains data of interest. It is typical of those Missourians who did more than the citizen of any other state to explore and settle the West. Mr. L. L. McCoy lives in Red Bluff, California. His letter is dated October 17, 1920. For years he has been a loyal supporter of The State Historical Society.

"I have been from home much of the time this summer on various trips and vacations and to some extent have lost track of several minor matters, one of which is my subscription for *The Missouri Historical Review*. On a safe venture I will enclose one dollar for which you will please give me credit and indicate by receipt to what date this will carry me.

"I have been in California forty-eight years but have never lost my interest in the great State of Missouri or her good people.

"I come from a real pioneer family. My paternal grandfather settled at St. Louis in 1816. My father was born there in 1823. I was born in Clark county in 1850.

"A brother of my grandfather (Martin McCoy) left St. Louis in 1824, wintered that winter about where Ogden now is. The winter of 1825-26, he spent around Salt Lake; the winter of 1826-27, in part at Los Angeles and in part at San Diego. The winter of 1827-28, he wintered on the Stanislaus River, in the upper San Joaquin Valley, California. In the spring of 1828 he passed up the San Joaquin Valley, full length of the Sacramento Valley then turned through the Trinity Range of mountains to the Pacific Coast, striking it above Eureka, Humboldt county. He crossed Klamath River and Smith River, and on the Umpqua River the party was attacked by Indians and all were killed except three, my uncle being one of the killed. The party was of the Smith-Sublett exploration party. I have pioneered much mountain territory of California."

BOOK REVIEWS.

Crowder, Major General E. H.—*The Spirit of Selective Service*. xx367 pp. Century Company, New York, 1920. \$2.00.

The American reading public is fortunate in having an account of the Selective Service System of this country in the recent war from the pen of the man who had most to do with the planning and execution of the system. The book does

not pretend to be exhaustive. The author's primary purpose is not to give a detailed account of the system but to present an interpretation of its underlying principles and to show how those principles might be applied in the solution of some of our modern day public problems. There are therefore many facts with reference to the system that the reader might expect to find in the book that are lacking. These may be obtained however by going to the reports of the author as provost marshal general. But the facts that are given in the narrative part of the book are the chief essentials in the story of how America came to adopt the selective service system and how it was operated.

Special emphasis is placed in the narrative upon the fact that although we as a people were decidedly reluctant to resort to the draft when we entered the war, we readily brought ourselves around to the point of accepting it whole heartedly when we realized the exact situation. We had won all of our wars through the volunteer system and we could win this one in that way too, was the popular opinion throughout the country early in 1917. It was not generally known that the volunteer system had practically failed in the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Civil War, and that but for the untoward circumstances under which the enemy fought we would have been defeated each time. Moreover we did not stop to think how great the odds had been in our favor in the wars with Mexico and with Spain, thus making the volunteer system amply sufficient for the task in both of these wars. The only instance when the draft had been resorted to in our history was during the Civil War and then it proved an ignominious failure. We therefore entered the Great War with little thought of proceeding otherwise than by way of the volunteer system to which we had become wedded by tradition.

But when the situation was squarely confronted, we soon realized that after all the selective service system was alone democratic and that it was the only system whereby the war could be won and the country be saved from being wrecked in the winning. The fearful disaster that overtook England

in the first two years of the war was held up to us most effectively as a warning of what was in store for us if we proceeded in like manner. By the way, the chapter in General Crowder's book describing how the English passed from the volunteer to the selective service system is the clearest brief statement on the subject that the reviewer has as yet seen.

Fortunately the man into whose hands the planning and execution of our selective service system was largely placed, was fully acquainted with the features of the draft of the Civil War that had made it so odious and ineffective. He therefore realized that if the draft was to succeed in the Great War it must be conducted along different lines. The Civil War draft had failed partly because it had been administered by Federal officials who were strangers in the districts to which they were assigned and who sought out those liable to military service and coerced them into serving. Moreover the scheme of exemptions was such as to give undue favor to the rich. If the draft was to succeed in the Great War it must be administered not by strangers who should run down those liable to military service, but largely by local boards composed of men of the communities who would be more or less personally acquainted with those reporting to them for duty. At the outset therefore every man on appearing before the board that had jurisdiction over him would feel more or less certain that he would get a square deal. At least his case would be disposed of by his neighbors and not by strangers. Moreover the exemptions were to be such as would place the burden of military service not upon the poor who because of their poverty could not help themselves, but upon those who could be best spared from the economic point of view.

The second part of the book is largely interpretative. In the author's opinion the success of the selective service system was due to a new Americanism that was born under the stress of the war. As he sees it a spirit that was truly national came into being simultaneously in all parts of the country for the first time in our history. Cooperation between the individual and the national government was the

watch word of the hour, and under the influence of that spirit we won our greatest victory in war.

Out of this experience the author finds a method of procedure for dealing with many of our present day problems. He believes in the extension of authority on the part of the national government through the establishment of a closer relation between the national and state governments than has heretofore existed. For example he points out that in education what is needed is a real national educational policy that would express itself through the departments of education in the forty-eight different states of the Union under the direction of the Federal bureau of education. Under such an arrangement as this, illiteracy might be eradicated from the nation very quickly as well as other educational advances made.

Again he suggests that the problem between capital and labor might be solved by setting up certain institutions somewhat similar to those used in the recent draft. First, there would be a series of councils composed of representatives of labor and capital, including local councils in every industrial plant, factory and mine, a national council within each industry, and a national parliament representing all industries, the purpose of all of which would be to bring about amicable agreements between employee and employer. Second, there would be a series of advisory boards, local, state and national, each of which would be composed of men appointed directly or indirectly by the president to represent labor, capital and the public. The function of these boards would be to arbitrate in those disputes which may affect the public welfare and which capital and labor had not been able to settle. In view of the great success achieved in the selective service system by employing agencies somewhat similar to these boards, the author feels that equal success might be attained in industrial matters if approached in that spirit of cooperation that animated the country during the war.

To what extent these suggestions will meet with approval is very problematical. They merit at least serious consideration and should not be brushed aside as merely utopian.

One can not refrain from remarking about the modesty of the author in describing his own handiwork, the selective service system. Not until near the middle of the book does he disclose the fact that he had anything to do with the system. Not more than a half dozen times does he refer to himself and then usually in an incidental way.

Not only does he keep himself in the background, but he is especially careful to assign the credit for the success of the system to the great host of men and women who served on the numerous boards and in various positions under him. He even goes so far as to point out that it was the chance remark of a congressman that was responsible for the voting precincts being used for the purpose of obtaining the registration of those liable to military service instead of the post offices as was originally intended.

The first part of the book is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the war, and the whole is a most creditable addition to the growing list of works by Missourians.

E. M. Violette.

Memoirs, Life and Influence of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Cowgill Maple, by R. P. Rider and H. E. Truex (The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, Jefferson City, 1920), is another valuable and well compiled addition to Missouri biography and Missouri Baptist literature. The book divides itself into three parts: the lives of Dr. and Mrs. Maple, by Prof. Rider; a resume of Baptist growth in Missouri during Dr. Maple's residence; and selections from the writings of Dr. and Mrs. Maple. The subject matter is exceptionally well treated, and the mechanism of the book, as regards printing, paper, binding and illustrations, is excellent.

The work and influence of Dr. and Mrs. Maple are deserving of this honor. Both did much for Missouri's spiritual and educational advancement. Both were finely qualified in person and training for realizing their modest but high ambition. The honors bestowed on Dr. Maple, the veneration in which he was held, the important church offices and pastorates

occupied by him, make him a commanding figure in the history of the Baptist Church in Missouri. Besides doing ministerial work in Kentucky and Iowa, he labored in the following Missouri pastorates—Cape Girardeau, Kansas City, Chillicothe, Springfield, again in Cape Girardeau, Mexico, Marshall and Trenton. His broad work carried him, however, into all sections of the State. He was chairman of the committee which had charge of publishing the series of *Missouri Baptist Biography*, under the general direction of the Missouri Baptist Historical Society. Four volumes have been issued under the joint authorship of Dr. Maple and Prof. R. P. Rider. The work is one of the most commendable of its kind.

Dr. Maple was born in 1833 in Ohio, reared and educated in Illinois, and performed most of his work in Missouri. He died in this State in 1917. Mrs. Maple was a native of Missouri, being born in Cape Girardeau county in 1837. Her maiden name was Miss Sarah Ellen Juden. She died in 1909. In all his ministerial, educational, and literary activities, Mrs. Maple was a helpful coworker. The preservation of their lives is but partial payment of honor due as well as indicative of public appreciation for lasting service.

From an artistic, as well as a biographical point of view, one of the most valuable local historical works published recently in Missouri is *Men Who Made St. Joseph "The City Worth While,"* by W. P. Tracy of St. Joseph, printed by the Combe Printing Company of that city. A copy of this work was recently donated to The State Historical Society of Missouri by the author. In appearance it is one of the richest works recently seen. Nor is it less valuable in its subject matter. Only the most prominent citizens of St. Joseph are treated but the biographical sketches of these men are most complete. The purpose of the book is stated in its title and this purpose has been well and consistently carried out. Judging from the general nature of the work and its appearance, the edition was probably limited and will be greatly sought after by private collectors in the State.

A most interesting historical booklet is *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College, 1827-1920*, by Miss Lucinda de Leftwich Templin. It is filled with valuable data on this fine old educational institution for girls at St. Charles and is exceptionally well illustrated. Portions of diaries and old letters of Major and Mrs. George C. Sibley, founders of the College, are reproduced. Contrast is made between the old college of nearly a century past and the modern school of today. One chapter is devoted to "Lindenwood's Greatest Benefactors," in which special mention is given Col. James Gay Butler, of St. Louis, Mrs. Margaret L. Butler, and her neice, Mrs. Nellie Eastbik. Miss Templin, the author, is a graduate of the University of Missouri, A. B., A. M., and holds the chair of history and political science in Lindenwood College.

JUDGE WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

When a scholar who contributed to knowledge dies society loses an asset. Such a loss was the passing of Judge Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis. He was a lawyer by training, a jurist by profession, a gentleman by nature, but a scholar par excellence. Few were there like this man. Missouri has three and a half million persons, but not a half dozen men like Judge Walter B. Douglas. We do not know of his material success, but we doubt if he was wealthy. Such a life as his largely excludes wealth gathering. He was a history saviour rather than a money saver. His philanthropy was expressed in years of toilsome service to his people. In his quiet, modest way he did much for his community and his State.

A native Missourian, he gloried in her successes and sought to remedy her defects. One of the latter was the preservation of her annals. He specialized in the French and Spanish periods of our history, and was indefatigable in this field. He was an authority in those periods of our annals. When the list of Missouri collectors and historians is completed, the name of Judge Walter Bond Douglas will there find high place.

This translation from the *Westliche Post* (St. Louis) of Nov. 9, 1920, by Hans Hackel, well expresses our estimate of this man's life:

DEATH OF WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

"The death of former circuit judge Walter B. Douglas must be considered a serious loss, not only to the city of St. Louis, but for the whole State of Missouri, for to both, he was an enthusiastic friend and advocated a better knowledge of local history and appreciation of home ties.

"The deceased had gradually developed the subject, the history of our State, into a life work, to the fulfillment of which, he devoted all his leisure hours. He was indefatigable in his efforts to develop a better appreciation of the importance and significance of a thorough knowledge of our more immediate city, county and State, thereby increasing our understanding for wider fields; no sacrifice was too great for him in the achievement of this end.

"Death took him at a time, when after many years of labor, he was about to perpetuate in book form, the results of his life-work.

"For himself, he never demanded appreciation, to say nothing of honors; that which he did, was done from most unselfish enthusiasm; he was a part of his work, and it will be difficult to find a successor.

"As a lawyer Walter B. Douglas had a stainless reputation both as counsel and judge, he manifested the same conscientious behavior which characterized his private life—at all times the substance was of more importance than the person and he was animated in his professional career by the highest conceivable ideals. He seldom appeared in public of late, but in spite of this he maintained to the last, a kindly interest in the development of the community, and all movements which aimed at betterment found in him an able and enthusiastic supporter.

"He will continue to live in the lives and hearts of all those who follow higher interests as contrasted with mere material well-being.

"Walter B. Douglas has left us a mine of truly noble concept of mind and an idealist in the best sense of the word."

PERSONALS.

Hon. August H. Bolte: Born near Union, Missouri, September 3, 1854; died at St. Louis, June 24, 1920. He served twelve years as Probate Judge of Franklin County,

and in 1896 was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the Democratic ticket with Lon V. Stephens. After serving his term in this office he became attorney for the Rock Island Railroad and later for the Bell Telephone Company.

Hon. Clarence Weaver Carney: Born in Barry county, Missouri, June 22, 1892; died at Cassville, Missouri, April 1, 1920. He was educated at the Springfield State Normal School and afterwards taught school at various places in Barry county. He was a member of the forty-ninth General Assembly as representative from Barry county.

Hon. L. F. Cottey: Born in Knox county, Missouri, March 31, 1846; died at Edina, Missouri, July 29, 1920. He was educated at Palmyra Academy and at Central College, graduating from the latter institution in 1869. Admittance to the bar came in 1872 and two years later he began the practice of law, serving as county superintendent of schools of Knox county during the intervening two years. In 1875 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention of Missouri and the following year was sent to the General Assembly as representative from Knox county. He also served in the State Senate in the 30th and 31st General Assemblies. In 1896 he was a delegate to the Democratic national convention.

Judge Walter B. Douglas: Born at Brunswick, Missouri, December 20, 1851; died at St. Louis, November 7, 1920. He was graduated from the Law department of Harvard University in 1877 and began the practice of law at once. From 1901 to 1906 he was Judge of the Circuit Court in St. Louis. Judge Douglas was greatly interested in historical work and was active for many years in the work of preserving landmarks and historical buildings in and around St. Louis. He served as president of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis in 1893 and 1894 and after that time as a member of the board of directors of the organization. He was also a member of the American Historical Society and of the Missouri Bar Association.

Hon. E. P. Gates: Born at Lunnenburgh, Vermont, March 5, 1845; died at Independence, Missouri, April 23,

1920. He was educated at Port Byron Academy and later attended Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, from which institution he graduated in 1867. In 1868 he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law at Independence. From 1886 to 1890 he served as county counselor of Jackson county. In 1896 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court of Jackson county and served in that capacity for several years.

Dr. S. S. Laws: Born in Ohio county, Virginia, March 23, 1824; died at Asheville, North Carolina, January 9, 1921. He received the rudiments of his education at the Oldfield School in Virginia. He was graduated from Miami University in 1848 and in 1851 from the Princeton Theological Seminary. He preached for a time in St. Louis and then joined the faculty of Westminster College at Fulton. Two years later he was made president of that school, and held the office for six years. During the Civil War he was arrested as a Southern sympathizer, but was released upon his promise to exile himself from the country. This he did by going to France. Upon his return to the United States he spent a number of years in study and research, receiving, in 1870, the degree of M. D., from Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York University and the degree of LL. B., from Columbia University. Two years later Washington and Lee University granted him the degree of D. D., and in 1875 Westminster College conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. In 1876 Dr. Laws was elected president of the University of Missouri and served in that capacity until 1889. Since that time he has been engaged principally in literary work, two of his best known published books being, "The At-one-ment" and "The Trinity."

W. G. Musgrove: Born in Lafayette county, June 14, 1843; died at Lexington, Missouri, September 7, 1920. As a boy he carried papers in Lexington and when a young man worked on various newspapers throughout the State. During the Civil War he was located at Springfield and helped to print the reports of General Price and other Confederate officers. At the close of the war he and two others went to

Lexington and started a newspaper called the *Caucasian*, the first issue of which appeared in April, 1865. About 1874 Mr. Musgrove became the sole owner of the paper and in August, 1875, consolidated the *Caucasian* with the *Intelligencer*. In 1886 he sold his interests in Lexington and became interested in Kansas newspapers, returning to Lexington in 1893. After again conducting the *Intelligencer* for several years he retired from active life.

Hon F. W. Pehle: Born in Prussia, Germany, in 1839; died at New Haven, Missouri, September 20, 1920. He was brought to Missouri by his parents in 1840, locating first in Gasconade county and a few years later in Franklin county. He began his active life as a school teacher, later farming and engaging in the real estate business. In 1874 he was elected to represent Franklin County in the lower house of the General Assembly, and was reelected in 1876 and 1878. In 1880 he was elected State senator.

Judge Henry C. Riley: Born near New Madrid, Missouri, December 18, 1850; died at New Madrid, April 12, 1920. He was educated at Kentucky Military Institute and Washington University and entered upon the practice of law at New Madrid in 1873. He served the county as school commissioner and as prosecuting attorney and in 1892 was elected Circuit Judge of the 23rd judicial circuit, serving in that capacity for eighteen years.

William P. Ruffel: Born at Glasgow, Missouri, April 7, 1864; died at Glasgow, April 29, 1920. He was educated at Lewis College in Glasgow and at Shelbina, Missouri, and Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1880 he became part owner of the *Glasgow Central Missourian* and two years later became its sole owner. He continued as editor and owner of this paper until his death.

John N. Southern: Born in Clairbourn county, Tennessee, August, 1838; died at Independence, Missouri, May 20, 1920. He was admitted to the bar at the age of 21. In 1860 he enlisted in the service of the Confederacy with the 59th Tennessee Regiment, under General Bragg. He came to Missouri after the war, but was not permitted to

practice law because of the test oath, which he refused to take. He became interested in the newspaper business and until 1879 was editor and owner of the Independence *Sentinel*. Later he was a member of the editorial staff of the Kansas *City Times*. In 1881 he resumed the practice of law.

George G. Strock: Born near Cosby, Missouri, April, 1853; died at St. Joseph, August 22, 1920. As a young man he served for a time as a reporter on a St. Joseph newspaper. In 1881 he established the *King City Chronicle*, which he conducted for a few years. He then bought the *Albany Ledger* and was its editor for about twenty years. He retired from the newspaper field about twelve years ago because of failing health.

Hon. J. C. Tarsney: Born at Medina, Michigan, November 7, 1845; died at Kansas City September 4, 1920. At the age of seventeen he joined the Union army and took an active part in the Civil War. After the war he entered the law department of the University of Michigan, graduating therefrom in 1867. He came to Kansas City in 1872 and in 1874 was elected city attorney. In 1886 he was elected as representative to Congress and was later reelected for three terms. In 1895 President Cleveland appointed him an associate justice of Oklahoma Territory, in which capacity he served four years.

